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The studies which comprise this report are as follows: (a) Document 1, Development of the Matrix Test by Herbert Zimiles and Harvery Asch (PS 001 072). (b) Document 2, Studies of the Social Organization of Head Start Centers by Donald Horton and others (PS 001 073); (c) Document 3, An Experimental Approach to Studying Non-Verbal Representation in Young Children by Margery Franklin and Judith Cobb (PS 001 074); (d) Document 4, Development of Observation Procedures for Assessing Preschool Classroom Environment by Virginia Stern and Anne Gordon (PS 001 075); (e) Document 5, Comparative Item-Content Analysis of Achievement Test Performance in Young Children by Herbert Zimiles and Stephen Silk (PS 001 076); (f) Document 6, Individual Instruction Project 1 by Renee Reens and others (PS 001 077). (BO)

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HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

Progress Report of Research Studies
1966 to 1967

Bank Street College of Education
Research Division

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The studies which comprise this report are as follows:

1. Development of the Matrix Test
2. Studies of the Social Organization of Head Start Centers
3. An Experimental Approach to Studying Non-Verbal Representation in Young Children
4. Development of Observation Procedures for Assessing Preschool Classroom Environment
5. Comparative Item-Content Analysis of Achievement Test Performance in Young Children
6. Individual Instruction Project 1

Introductory Comments

It is the primary goal of the Bank Street Head Start Evaluation and Research Center to deepen our understanding of the principal psychological characteristics of disadvantaged children, the conditions under which they learn, and the sociological and psychological factors which impede their full development.

Paraphrasing Henry Murray, the disadvantaged child is like all other children, some other children and no other children. Thus, it is certainly possible to conduct important research in Head Start Centers without concern for the unique characteristics of the children, that is, to use Head Start classes as a convenient field setting for studies which could just as well be conducted with other kinds of children. However, it is unlikely that effective methods of teaching these children will evolve unless the distinctive features of their learning patterns are better understood.

One of the prime advantages of the establishment of a Head Start Evaluation and Research Center is that it can provide the opportunity for an interdisciplinary staff of investigators to become immersed in Head Start life long enough for them to become able to perceive distinctions and identify issues of importance. During the first year of operation of Bank Street College's Head Start Evaluation and Research Center, a major part of staff effort was devoted to the Center's participation in the national evaluation study of Head Start. The results of this evaluation work -- conducted in New York City and parts of North Carolina and Georgia -- are not included in this report, which is confined to a presentation of the research program. Since participation in the evaluation study contributed significantly to staff exposure to Head Start and therefore to the crystalization of methodological and conceptual issues, the evaluation study cannot properly be divorced from the research program. In this regard, I would like to acknowledge the important contribution of Judith Block, Harvey Asch and Anne Gordon to the research program through their central involvement in the evaluation study.

This report summarizes the first year of work directed toward mounting a program of research of special relevance to the operation and goals of Project Head Start. This work touches on several major issues: it attempts to enhance present knowledge about the nature of cognitive abilities of young disadvantaged children; it explores problems of social organization that are associated with Project Head Start's program of preschool education and social change; it attempts to devise a method for assessing the major dimensions of preschool classroom environments; and it examines the usefulness of a new procedure for teaching young disadvantaged children some of the conceptual skills needed for more advanced and accelerated cognitive growth. All this work is in its early stages; its emphasis may shift and it is likely that new areas of study will be added. Thus far, it has been mainly concerned with identifying significant issues and developing fruitful methods of investigation.

Herbert Zimiles

HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

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Document 1

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATRIX TEST

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATRIX TEST

The Matrix Test was devised to serve as a procedure for assessing classification, sorting and related cognitive skills associated with inferential reasoning. Based upon a format used by Inhelder and Piaget* (1964) to study classification behavior in young children, it consists mainly of newly constructed items combined with a few devised by Inhelder and Piaget. The test also resembles Raven's Progressive Matrices Test, but its format and content are more suited for use with young children -- it includes representational as well as abstract items, it requires a less abstract attitude, and it presents items individually, on separate cards (8" x 13"), rather than in a booklet.

Each item of the test presents a matrix of 2" x 2" or 2" x 3" squares in which all but one of the squares contain two-dimensional geometric figures or pictorial representations of familiar objects arranged in groups so that the figures form some relationship to each other on the basis of their appearance, content or spatial position in the matrix. The subject is asked to find the figure missing from the empty square on the basis of the pattern established by the figures in the remaining squares from among four alternatives that are presented alongside the matrix. The subject merely must point to the alternative that he believes to belong to the empty square. This format has the advantage of simplicity of administration and ease of communicating the essential requirements of the task. Unlike other procedures in which the intricacy of the procedure may elude the grasp of the young child, as in conventional sorting tasks, for example, in which the child may fail to understand the request to "choose the objects which are alike" or "which belong together," the conspicuousness of the vacant square in the Matrix Test almost invariably communicates to even the youngest child that the appropriate figure must be found. Further, after the task is presented initially, the test can proceed without any verbal interchange between examiner and child. The child need not utter a single word during the course of the administration of the test; the examiner, too, may remain silent after the task is introduced initially. For the young child who feels assaulted by the speech of adults, or who does not feel sufficiently comfortable with a strange adult to talk with him, a test that minimizes the need for such verbal interaction provides him with an opportunity to function with a minimum of disturbance and interference.

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*The Early Growth of Logic in the Child by Barbel Inhelder and J. Piaget. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.

Content of the Matrix Test

The test is made up of 44 items. Although items were originally constructed to present one-way and two-way classification problems, in all, four different classes of items may be distinguished. These four classes of items have been called: Perceptual Matching, Class Membership, One-Way Classification, Two-Way Classification.

The Perceptual Matching items (N = 3) present the easiest task. They present a 2" x 2" matrix in which the figures in all three occupied squares are identical. The task then simply requires the child to find the figure among the four alternatives that is identical to those in the three occupied squares of the matrix. Both abstract and representational figures are included among the three Perceptual Matching items. It should be noted that these items merely require the child to find the matching figures; no abstraction or complex inference is entailed.

The Class Membership items (N = 18) present a 2" x 2" matrix in which the three occupied squares contain different figures that have a common feature. In some of the items containing abstract figures, it is their color or form that the figures have in common; in others, it is the internal relationship of a combination of variables such as size and color that constitute the common element among the figures. Among the items presenting representational figures, the figures depict objects that may be subsumed under some common category of classification. These items vary in the degree of abstractness of the unifying category of classification.

The One-Way Classification items (N = 11) present 2" x 3" matrices (as well as some 2" x 2" matrices) of abstract or representational figures in which all the members of the vertical arrays (columns) or horizontal arrays (rows) are the same. Thus the identity of the missing figure is given by its column or row membership.

The Two-Way Classification items (N = 12) present matrices (all but two are 2" x 3") in which the row and column membership, in combination, determine the nature of the missing figure. Thus, whereas all the members of the same row or column (as the case may be) of the One-Way Classification items are identical, in the Two-Way Classification, no two squares contain identical figures.

Although countless variations in the sequence of presentation of all 44 items are possible, thus far the Matrix Test has for the most part been administered in a uniform order. The blocks of items are presented in toto, in the same order in which these four groupings have been presented here. During administration of the test, the child is not told of the transitions in task requirement of the blocks of items presented to him. In addition, there has been no attempt to conduct an inquiry following the child's response to an item. Variations in the sequence and mode of presentation of the items, and experimentation with a form of inquiry, are currently being contemplated.

Results

Several studies of the Matrix Test were conducted to identify the factors that influence test performance.

I. Variation in Matrix Test performance as a function of age and cultural background:

Children in kindergarten and grades 1, 2 and 3 of two public schools were given the Matrix Test. School A is located in a middle-class neighborhood and its children come from white, middle-class families predominantly. School B is located in Harlem; virtually all its children are from lower-class, Negro families. In each school, 40 children (20 boys and 20 girls) were tested in kindergarten and each of the first three grades. Two examiners, one male, the other female, both white, tested half the children (10 boys and 10 girls) from each of the grade levels in each of the schools. In those grades in which there was homogeneous grouping, the sample was drawn in equal numbers from the upper, middle and lower levels of ability. In all, 320 children were tested.

Table 1 presents the findings item by item and Figure 1 presents the frequency distributions for total scores. It may be observed that the three Perceptual Matching items presented relatively few problems for even the youngest group. Performance on the first two items, the first of which presented a geometric figure (red circle) and the second, a representational figure (pocket watch), established that all the children understood the simple demands of the Matrix task -- to point to the figure among the alternatives that belonged in the vacant square. The third item (a line drawing of a cow) caused some difficulty because the alternatives included other four-legged animals (dog, horse) so that the impulsively responding child, or the one unfamiliar with the characteristic features of the cow, answered this item incorrectly. This item also illustrates how the difficulty of a Matrix Test item is determined as much by the nature of distractors (i.e., alternatives to the correct answer) as by the level of abstraction required to find the common element among the matrix members.

It may be observed that performance on the Class Membership items varied widely as a function of the difficulty level of the item. Thus, although these items may bear a formal resemblance to each other in that the S must in every case abstract the common element from three non-identical members of a 2" x 2" matrix, other characteristics of the group of items that affect their difficulty level, such as the nature of the abstraction required, vary greatly. Two items that were clearly too difficult for even the oldest children call for essentially identical solution patterns (items 11 and 15). Both require the subject to discern the fact that the rank order of length of a set of differently colored bars is the same in all three occupied squares. These two problems are unique in that they require recognition that the internal relationship among elements within each square have a feature in common with all members of the matrix.

The first two items in the Class Membership cluster are of interest because of the contrast in performance that they show. Both involve geometric figures in which the common element of the first item (4) is form and that of the second item (5) is color. Whereas the form item is dealt with easily, widespread difficulty was expressed with the color item. It is not clear whether this is a sequential effect, whether the greater difficulty of the color problem stems from the fact that it follows the form item and therefore requires a shift in the criterion for classification, or whether the two problems differ intrinsically in their difficulty level. Further study of this is being planned. Whatever the source of the variance, it may be observed that the middle-class group consistently performs substantially better than the disadvantaged group on the second (color) item. It is of interest to note that there are virtually no changes with age in the performance of the disadvantaged group on the second Class Membership item.

It may be observed that many of the Class Membership items presented no difficulties for even the youngest children. Several other items, however, were not consistently answered correctly and these showed the greatest difference between the disadvantaged and middle-class children. Among these was a pair of items, one of which presented "large things -- objects too large to hold" and the other "small things -- objects one could hold in one's hand." Both these items (17 and 2), involving more abstract categories, were responded to more effectively by the middle-class children. Another highly differentiating item required children to choose a picture of a fish to fill the matrix made up of pictures of animals (item 16). Here, too, the disadvantaged children performed less well; apparently they were less accustomed to thinking of fish as belonging to the same category as four-legged animals. On most of the other items, involving such classes as vehicles, horses, infant objects, street objects, and same-sex people, differences between the functioning of the middle-class and disadvantaged groups were small at all the age levels studied.

Performance on the One-Way Classification task was more affected by age; older children consistently performed better than younger children (see Figure 2). In addition, a larger difference between the disadvantaged and middle-class groups is in evidence. Both groups performed least well when the problem presented horizontal rather than vertical arrays (items 27 and 32). Since vertical arrays were presented first, here, too, it is not clear whether one-way classification is easier for children when the task requires scanning down columns rather than across rows or whether it is merely the shift to a new set of conditions that is so disruptive to young children.

The Two-Way Classification problem seemed too difficult for virtually all the children. It is only in the middle-class groups that there is some evidence of success with this task. As the age of the group increases, there is a corresponding increase in the number of children who could cope effectively with this task. Among the relatively small numbers of children who performed successfully on these items, most were of middle-class background.

It may be observed from Figure 2 that the differences in performance on the Matrix Test between the disadvantaged and middle-class group increased steadily from kindergarten to the second grade. It is likely that this gap did not continue to increase in the third-grade group because there was an insufficient number of difficult items to differentiate the two groups. As may be seen from Figure 2, large numbers of third graders had reached the ceiling in several of the item clusters, so that only a handful of extremely difficult items prevented many children from attaining perfect scores.

At the kindergarten level, there is great overlap between the two groups. The middle-class group begins to surge ahead in grade 1, and at grade 2 there is only a slight degree of overlap between them. This gap is narrowed slightly at the grade 3 level.

Among the youngest children in the sample, the kindergarten group, performance was best in the Class Membership items. A sizable difference between the middle-class and disadvantaged groups is already apparent at this age level in their performance on the One-Way Classification item cluster. A substantial number of disadvantaged children scored on the chance level in this cluster of items. Virtually none of the kindergartners could perform effectively on the Two-Way Classification cluster.

At the first-grade level, both groups continue to show effective performance on the Class Membership items, although the difference between the two groups begins to widen. A substantial number of disadvantaged children at this age level were still unable to cope with the One-Way Classification, thereby increasing the difference between the disadvantaged and the more rapidly advancing middle-class children. So, too, only a handful of disadvantaged children were able to deal with the Two-Way Classification problems, whereas more than twice as many middle-class children could manage these problems.

The second-grade group follows the same pattern observed among the first graders. Several disadvantaged children were still unable to perform the One-Way Classification problems, whereas none of the middle-class children showed real difficulty. At this level, too, more than half the middle-class children showed some mastery of the Two-Way Classification problem, whereas this skill was still relatively rare among disadvantaged children. The third-grade disadvantaged chil when compared with his counterpart second grader, shows some improvement in his ability to solve One-Way Classification problems but little change in Two-Way Classification, whereas the middle-class child's greatest gains are in Two-Way Classification.

An examination of sex differences (see Figure 2) reveals no consistent pattern of findings. In the youngest group, the girls of the disadvantaged kindergarten sample performed better than the boys. An equivalent difference is not observable among the middle-class group. As a result, it appears that the relatively large difference in performance on the One-Way Classification items found between the disadvantaged and middle-class group is attributable to the boys' scores.

The girls score slightly higher than the boys again in the first-grade sample, but this time it is the middle-class group that shows a sex difference. In the second-grade sample, the girls from both groups performed better than the boys on the Class Membership and One-Way Classification items. Most of the low scores on these two sets of items were obtained by boys. However, this pattern was not at all continued in the third-grade group.

II. Performance on the Matrix Test in younger children (four year olds):

An earlier version of the Matrix Test, in which there were only three (rather than four) alternative answers from which S could choose, was administered to small samples of children from various Head Start programs and a middle-class nursery school program and the results compared with those obtained from other groups tested previously. Because the test administrator as well as the actual sequence and total of items which were administered varied from sample to sample, the data here presented should not be regarded as definitive. They nevertheless provide some indication of the character of performance of very young children on the Matrix Test. Because of their greater difficulty, and the limited tolerance for testing among young children, the Two-Way Classification items were not administered.

From Table 2 it may be observed that most of the Perceptual Matching items were usually answered correctly. Thus it may be concluded that most of the young children in these sampleswere able to comprehend the nature of the task presented by the Matrix Test. It is apparent that they were able to answer many of the Class Membership items correctly too. Their performance on the One-Way Classification problems was more consistently and uniformly deficient. It would appear that the ability to solve One-Way Classification items is rare in such young children; thus skill in this area of functioning would appear to be indicative of a more advanced level of cognitive development.

Because so many of the proportions of correct responses approached a chance level (.33 with only 3 response alternatives), an analysis of consistency of performance was conducted by grouping items of highly similar content into small sets and determining the number of children who were able to answer all items correctly which had been grouped in the same set. These data are presented in Table 3. They indicate that consistency of performance is relatively rare, but does occur among these young children. In general, it was found more frequently among the middle-class group of children with the largest amount of preschool educational experience (Private Nursery School X).

III. A study of regional differences in performance on the Matrix Test among five year olds:

Two groups of five year olds, most of whom were in the evaluation sample of the Bank Street College Head Start Evaluation Study, from Mount Olive, North Carolina and Rome, Georgia, were given the Matrix Test shortly after they were post-tested toward the end of their first year of Head Start. These two groups, when paired with the kindergarten samples drawn from Schools A and B cited in a previous study, provide an opportunity to study the influence of regional as well as social class differences on Matrix Test performance.

The Mount Olive sample consisted of 35 Negro children living in a rural, agricultural section of North Carolina. The Rome sample was made up of 25 children, 15 Negro, 10 white, living in a more urban, industrial setting in the South. Since all these children had qualified for participation in Head Start, it may be assumed that they were for the most part from deprived families. These two groups may be compared with School B group, a Northern urban Negro group of disadvantaged children, and with the School A group, a Northern, urban group of white, middle-class children.

The data presented in Table 4 emphasize the great degree of similarity among the four groups. Among the Class Membership items, differences among the four groups tended to be small. The middle-class group often performed best, but only by a slight margin. In general, when a Class Membership item was easy for the middle-class group, i.e., more than 75% of the group answered the item correctly, the other groups also performed well. When an item posed a problem for the middle-class group because of the greater level of abstractness of reasoning it required, it usually produced an even greater degree of failure among the other groups. These more difficult items were the ones that differentiated the groups the most. Differences in performance on the Class Membership items among the three disadvantaged groups, irrespective of what part of the country they were living in, were virtually negligible.

A much larger and more consistent difference between the middle-class group of School A and the remaining three disadvantaged groups may be seen in the results of performance on the One-Way Classification items. Here substantial differences may be found on virtually every item. Only when the One-Way Classification problem presented columns with representational figures with distinct countours that were markedly different from each other (item 26) did the

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disadvantaged groups perform with great success on these items.

With a single exception, performance was uniformly poor for all four groups on all the Two-Way Classification items. Only item 42, which presented a Two-Way Classification problem involving number sequence, produced successful performance, and this surprisingly came only from the disadvantaged groups, particularly those from the South. However, since these groups failed to perform well on an equivalent item (36), or on any other Two-Way Classification items, no great significance can be attached to the isolated area of success that was found.

IV. Response latency to the Matrix Test

As presently constituted, administration of the Matrix Test includes provision for recording the time it takes for the child to respond to each item following its presentation. Such data present a record of the pace of the test, and through a comparison of the time a child took to respond to difficult and easy items, provide some indication of how adaptively he was functioning during the course of the test.

The data presented in Table 5 are based upon the comparative study of children from Schools A (predominantly white middle class) and B (Negro disadvantaged) cited previously. The data are in the form of the mean number of seconds elapsing between the time of presentation of the problem and the response to it. Data are presented separately for successful and unsuccessful responses. Analysis of these data is made difficult by the fact that the number of cases contributing to each mean varies as a function of the difficulty of the item.

The most clearcut trend is that of decreasing latency as a function of age; children required less time to respond correctly as they grew older. Among the youngest group of successful respondents, it would appear that the middle-class children took longer to respond than the disadvantaged. But from first grade on, the response latency of the middle-class group was less than that of the disadvantaged group. It would appear that the middle-class children work more rapidly when they are on the road to the proper solution of the problem. Further, the middle-class group seemed to function more adaptively in that there tended to be a greater discrepancy between the time it took them to respond to a problem that they could solve and one which they could not solve. They allowed themselves more time proportionately to deal with problems they could not solve.

The data also suggest that the children took much more time solving the Class Membership items than the One-Way and Two-Way Classification items. Here, too, it is important to establish whether this difference is a sequence effect or one that is related to the cognitive demands of the task. Further analysis of the latency data are currently being planned.

V. Cognitive correlates of the Matrix Test:

All or part of the sample of five year olds from North Carolina and Georgia that had been administered the Matrix Test were also given the short form of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, the Caldwell-Soule Preschool Inventory and three items of the Conservation Pictures Test, a quasi-test of conservation of number ability. The data are presented in Table 6 below:

Table 6

	N.C. sample (N = 24)	Georgia sample (N = 24)
	r	r
Stanford-Binet (MA)	.25	.60
Stanford-Binet (IQ)	.39	.51
Caldwell-Soule (raw score)	.46	.53
Conservation Pictures		.29

These data indicate that the Matrix Test variance is associated with substantial portions of variance obtained from other measures of intellectual functioning. Further investigation of the construct validity of the Matrix Test, with other cognitive measures, and children of other ages, is being planned.

Discussion

Thus far, studies of the Matrix Test have shown that it is a test that presents a task which even a four year old can readily understand and with which he can experience moderate degrees of success. At the same time, it includes a set of items too difficult for most eight year olds, so that the age range of its applicability is wide.

Comparative studies of middle-class and disadvantaged children indicate the presence of a great deal of overlap at age five, with middle-class children performing somewhat better. This difference, however, is widened in the first grade and perpetuated during the following two years so that overlap in performance on the Matrix Test between the middle-class and disadvantaged children diminishes from kindergarten to second grade. This advancing gap appears to be attributable to several factors, all of which affect performance on the more difficult items of the Matrix Test. The more abstract Class Membership items tend to be passed by the middle-class children substantially more often.

Further, the One-Way Classification task appears to be a prime differentiator between middle-class and disadvantaged children. Whereas both groups are adept at finding the common element among diverse figures, the concept of group membership based upon the spatial organization of a set of figures eludes many more disadvantaged children, even at age eight or more. Whether it is the nature of the concept underlying One-Way Classification that presents special difficulties for the disadvantaged child, or whether it is the shift in concept application required by the sequence in which the test items are presented which is largely responsible for the greater deficit in performance recorded by the disadvantaged group is something that will have to be established by further study.

Finally, the Two-Way Classification problems proved to be too difficult even for most of the oldest children. However, in contrast with the mixed performance among middle-class children, there was almost universal failure on these problems among the disadvantaged children. Here, too, it will be important to establish whether it was their inability to shift concepts or their greater vulnerability to boredom or fatigue that contributed significantly to their failure on these items.

Since changes in performance as a function of age were not great, particularly in the 6-8 age range, it appears to exaggerate the difference between middle-class and disadvantaged children to say that the disadvantaged children seem to be two years behind in their performance on the Matrix Test. Nevertheless, the data presented in Figure 1 do suggest that the performance of the second-grade disadvantaged group most closely resembles the performance of the kindergarten middle-class group and, correspondingly, the results of the third-grade disadvantaged group appear most similar to the results of the first-grade middle-class group.

Sex differences in performance were not marked. Where they occurred, they tended to favor the girls.

The data so far available regarding regional differences in scores suggest that there is considerable uniformity in the patterns of performance observed in diverse settings. Many parts of the test appear to transcend regional differences in style of functioning as well as language behavior.

Additional Work to be Done

The Matrix Test presents a format for the study of cognitive functioning whose full potential has not been tapped. At the same time, it has already generated a set of findings that need to be better understood. The most fruitful approach to understanding what the Matrix Test is measuring is to continue the comparative studies of middle-class and disadvantaged children and the evaluation of performance as a function of age. Additional items need to be developed for the younger age levels by increasing the variety of Class Membership items so that the test will yield more differentiated information about the cognitive functioning of very young children. In this regard, the responsiveness of Matrix Test performance to Head Start experience, in order to determine whether the test can be used as an index of cognitive change, attributable to Head Start, is yet to be established.

Experimentation needs to proceed with a three-dimensional form of the test to determine the influence of the mode of presentation of test stimuli. Sigel's data suggest that the difference between representational and real objects is likely to be critical for the performance of young disadvantaged children. The generality of his findings can be established by experimentation with three-dimensional matrices.

In addition, variation in the sequence of presentation of items must be studied to determine whether the difficulty levels of Class Membership and One-Way and Two-Way Classification items have been influenced by sequence effects. This is important to establish in order to determine whether it was the unique item content or the need to modify a mode of responding which caused so much more difficulty for the disadvantaged groups.

Finally, the correlates of the Matrix Test need to be further identified. This needs to be done for all the item clusters separately so that the relationship of the item clusters to each other can be better understood.

Table 1

Proportion of Children Answering Each Item Correctly by Grade and School (N=40)*

Item	School A Kind.	School B Kind.	School A Grade 1	School B Grade 1	School A Grade 2	School B Grade 2	School A Grade 3	School B Grade 3
1	1.00	1.00	.97	.97	.97	1.00	1.00	1.00
2	1.00	.95	.97	.97	.92	1.00	1.00	1.00
3	.82	.77	.92	.77	.97	.92	1.00	.80
4	.90	.72	.95	.90	.95	.95	1.00	.97
5	.55	.45	.62	.52	.72	.50	.72	.45
6	.85	.75	.97	.92	1.00	.95	1.00	.97
7	.95	.92	1.00	.92	.97	.92	.97	.97
8	.92	.92	1.00	.95	.97	.92	1.00	1.00
9	.87	.90	.97	.90	.95	.97	1.00	.95
10	.60	.62	.82	.75	.80	.87	.90	.82
11	.27	.12	.25	.27	.30	.45	.25	.32
12	.70	.62	.90	.67	.85	.85	.82	.82
13	.92	.72	.97	.92	.97	.92	1.00	.92
14	.80	.65	.87	.72	.92	.92	.92	.90
15	.10	.22	.25	.25	.22	.35	.17	.30
16	.50	.35	.82	.55	.82	.52	.82	.72
17	.50	.37	.77	.42	.82	.45	.92	.65
18	.77	.82	.92	.90	.92	.87	.92	.97
19	.92	.70	.97	.90	.97	.87	.97	.92
20	.67	.50	.77	.62	.85	.62	.87	.80
21	.97	.67	.80	.80	.97	.80	.95	.80
22	.82	.67	.90	.65	.95	.67	1.00	.80
23	.82	.60	.97	.72	.97	.82	1.00	.92
24	.80	.57	.95	.67	.87	.72	1.00	.82
25	.80	.60	.92	.85	.95	.77	1.00	.90
26	.87	.75	1.00	.90	.97	.87	.97	.87
27	.47	.17	.55	.35	.67	.27	.50	.27
28	.57	.45	.77	.32	.72	.57	.80	.70
29	.65	.32	.65	.47	.72	.70	.77	.72
30	.80	.52	.95	.77	.97	.87	.95	.92
31	.90	.50	1.00	.82	.92	.87	.97	.90
32	.50	.20	.67	.37	.87	.52	.87	.42
33	.20	.05	.35	.12	.50	.20	.50	.35
34	.47	.37	.75	.50	.70	.47	.85	.60
35	.25	.10	.47	.12	.40	.20	.62	.20
36	.20	.22	.22	.20	.27	.15	.52	.20
37	.20	.20	.45	.17	.60	.25	.52	.35
38	.12	.07	.25	.12	.52	.05	.50	.22
39	.40	.40	.55	.40	.50	.37	.42	.42
40	.17	.15	.40	.15	.42	.10	.30	.12
41	.15	.02	.50	.15	.45	.25	.30	.10
42	.25	.55	.20	.42	.35	.32	.40	.22
43	.15	.12	.40	.10	.57	.15	.45	.17
44	.30	.22	.25	.20	.27	.25	.27	.10

*There were 40 children at each grade level in each school.

Figure 1

Frequency Distribution of Total Scores by Grade and School

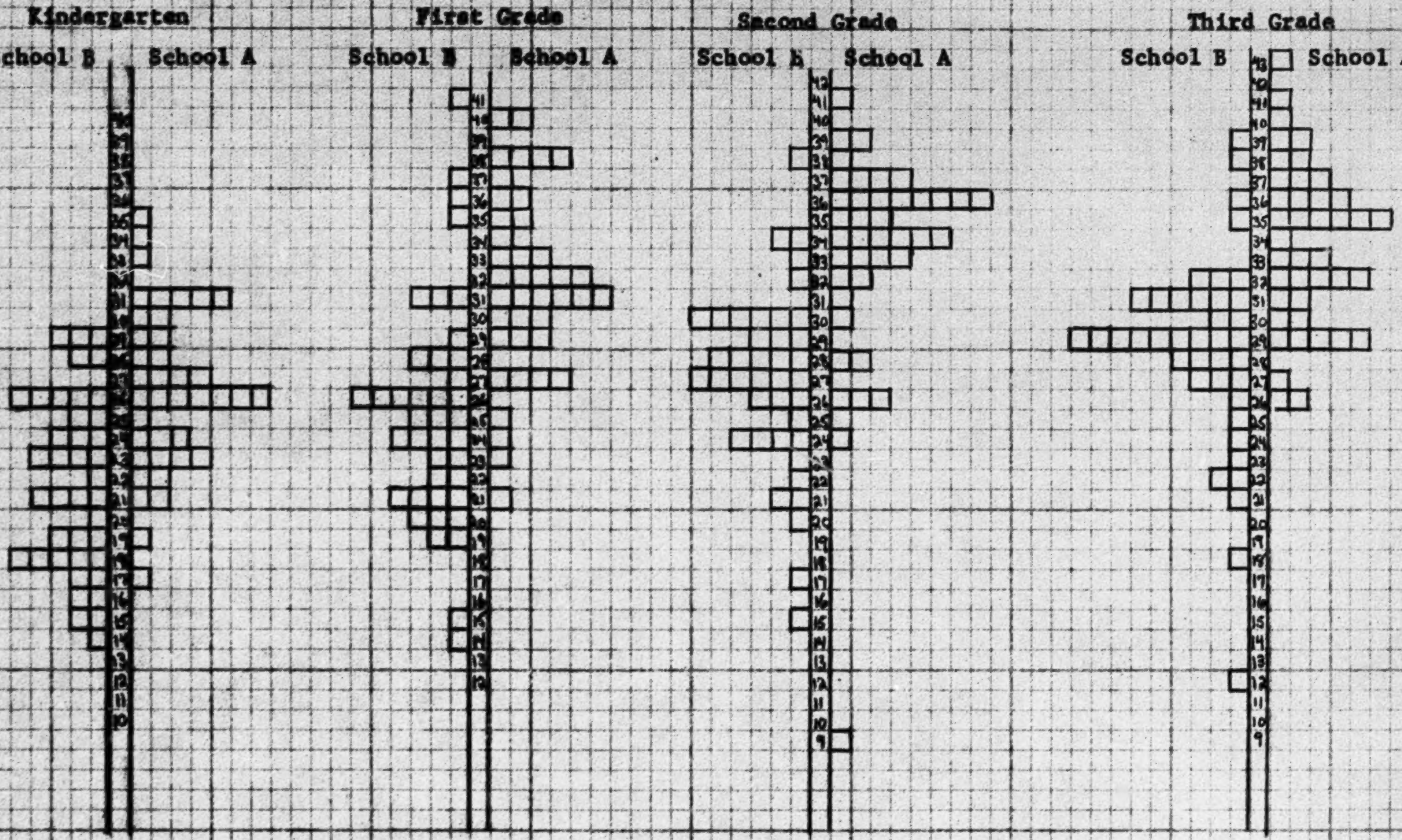
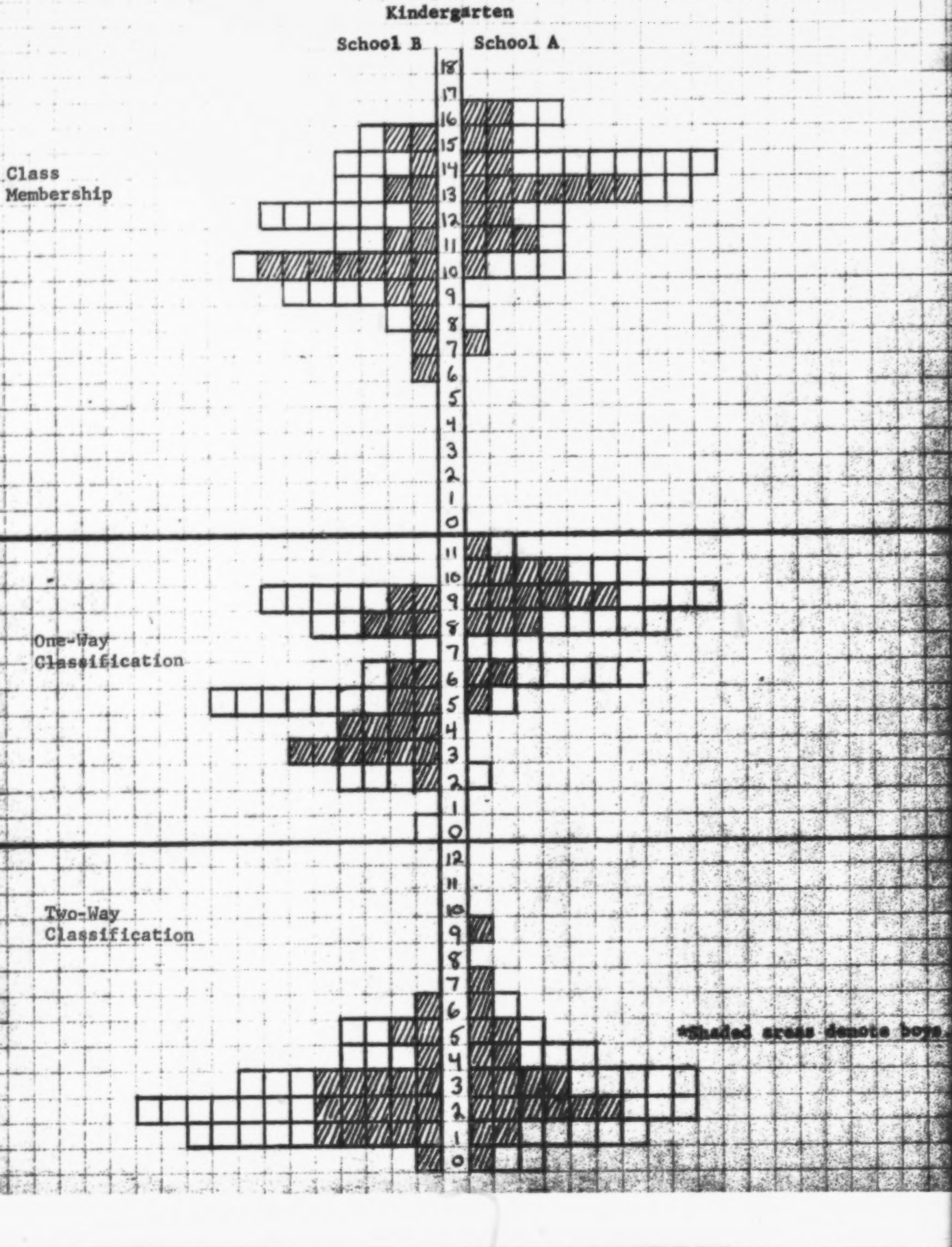


Figure 2

Frequency Distributions for Total Scores on Each of Three Item Clusters --
Class Membership, One-Way Classification, Two-Way Classification --
According to Grade, School and Sex*



*Shaded areas denote boys.

Figure 2 (cont.)

First Grade

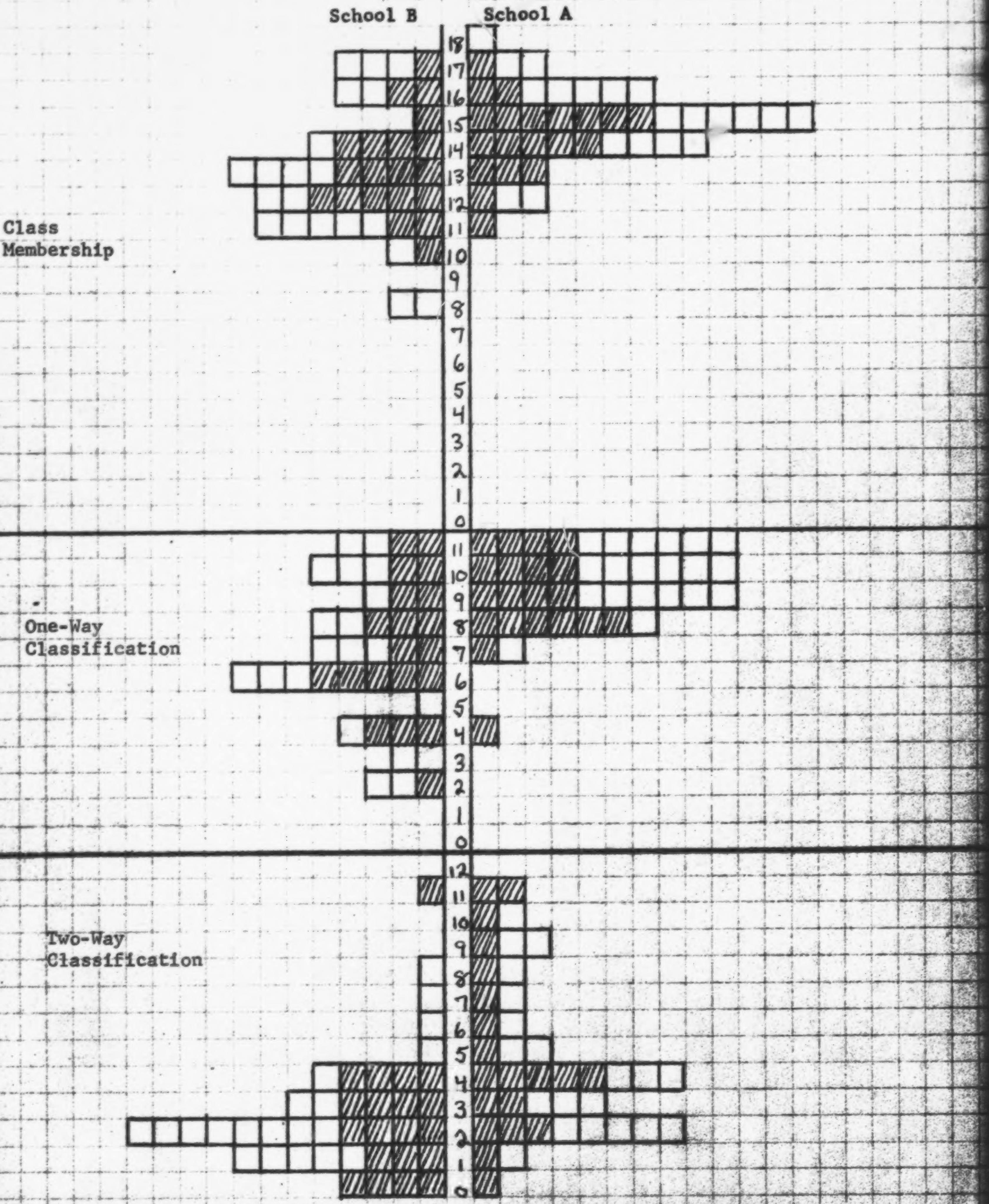


Figure 2 (cont.)

Second Grade

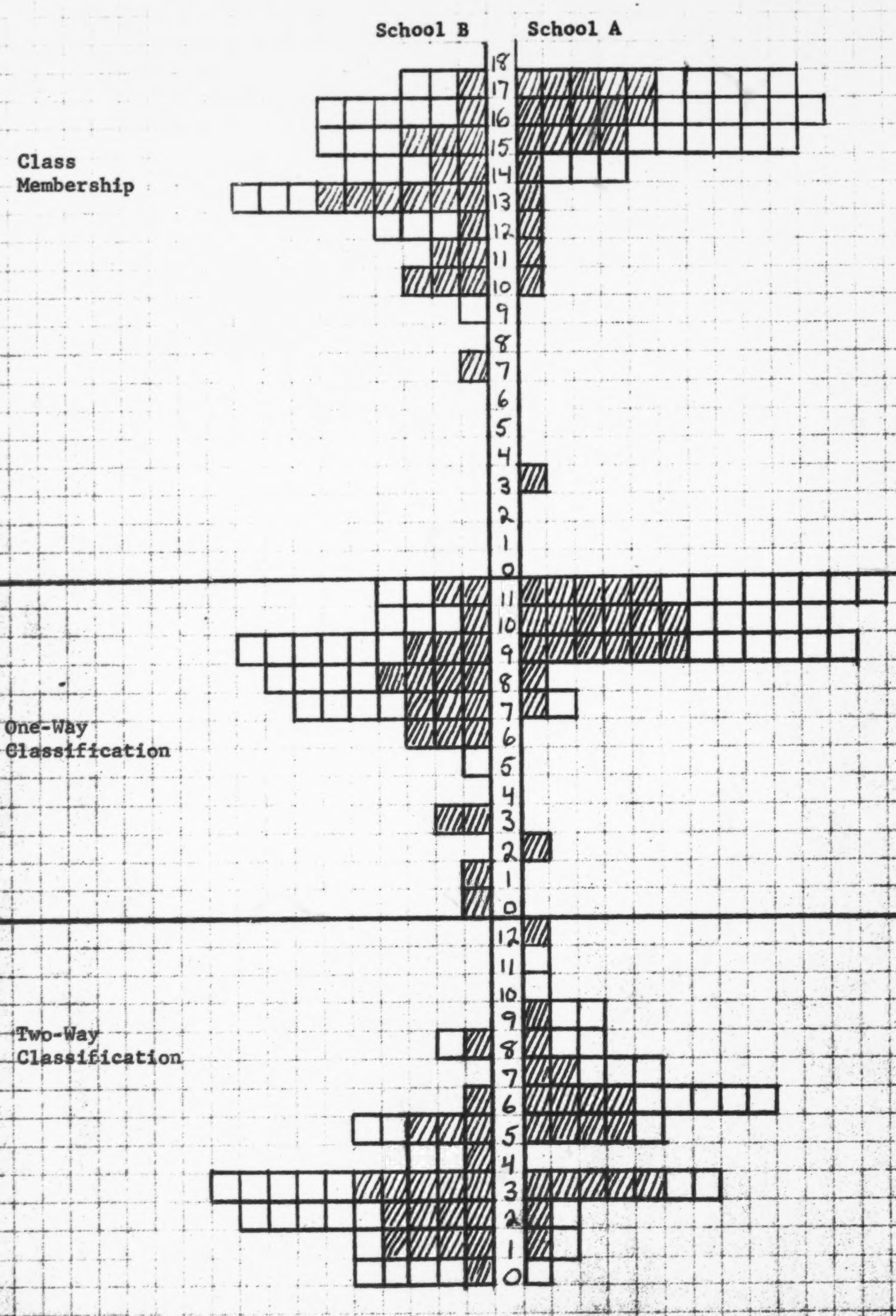


Figure 2 (cont.)

Third Grade

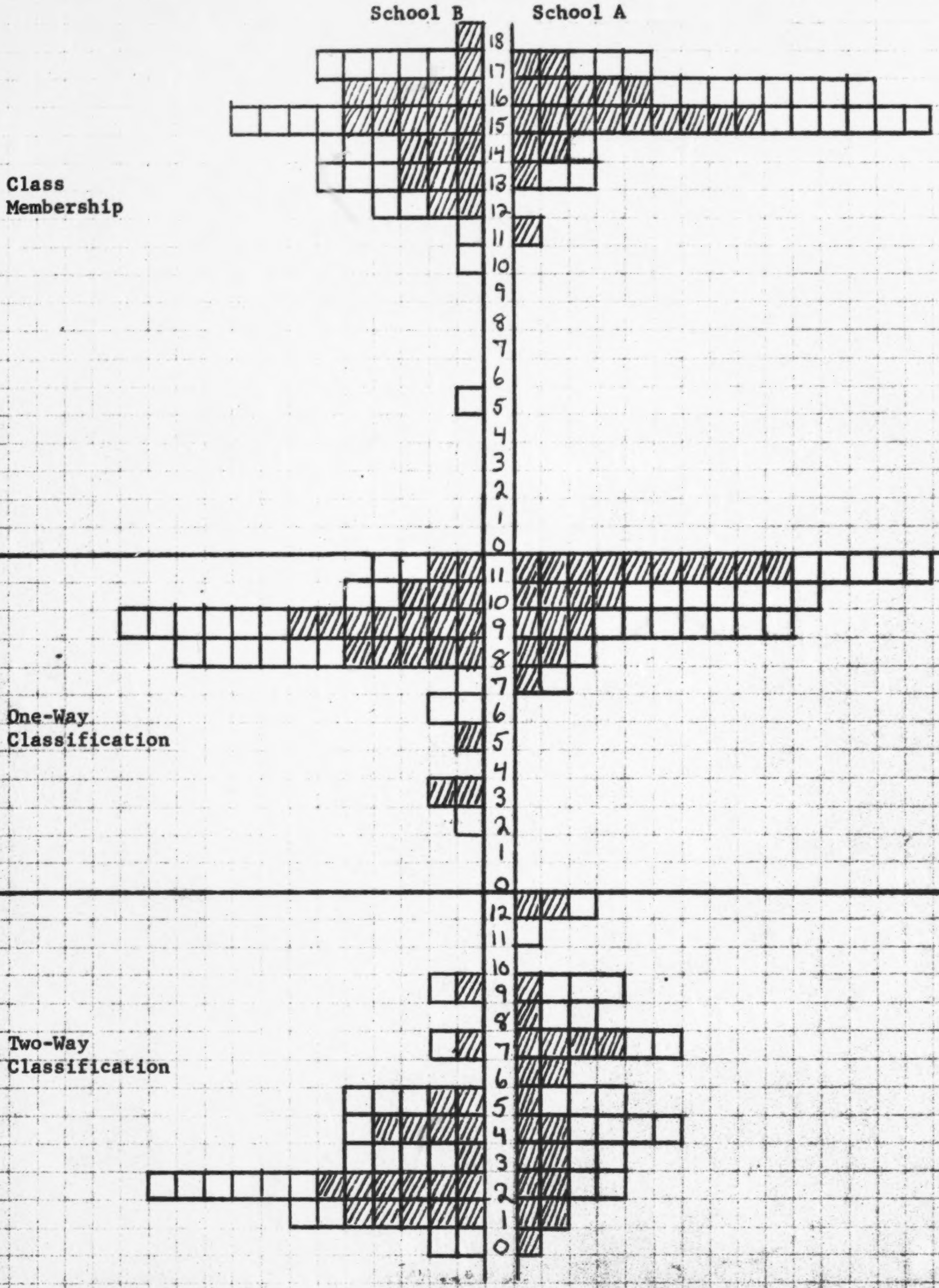


Table 2

Proportion of Four-Year-Old Groups Answering Each Item Correctly*

Item	Private Nursery School X (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-5 N=13	Private Nursery School Y (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-6 N=8	Head Start Class M (Jewish) Mean age: 4-7 N=7	Head Start Class N (Negro) Mean age: 4-6 N=9	Head Start Class O (Negro) Mean age: 4-8 N=18	Head Start Class P (Negro) Mean age: 4-6 N=26
1	.85	.75	.86	.89	.72	.70
2	1.00	1.00	.86	.66	.89	.92
3	.62	.50	.57	.22	.56	.75
4	.92	.88	.71	.78	.72	.70
5	.62	.63	.71	1.00	.61	.92
6	.85	.75	.86	.89	.78	.89
7	.77	.50	.43	.56	.33	.42
8	.92	.63	.71	.67	.61	.77
9	.69	.25	.43	.33	.33	.77
10	.77	.88	.43	.56	.83	.42
11	.00	.25	.43	.11	.28	.20
12	.77	.50	.29	.44	.44	.62
13	.69	.63	.57	.56	.61	.55
14	.62	.50	.57	.22	.50	.54
15	.69	.63	.43	.67	.67	.53
16	.62	.25	.71	.56	.17	.72
17	.31	.38	.57	.22	.22	.40
18	.69	.63	.43	.44	.11	.80
19	.54	.25	.57	.11	.22	.35
20	.69	.38	.71	.67	.72	.65
21	.46	.63	.14	.22	.50	.35
22	.62	.25	.14	.67	.17	.60
23	.62	.38	.43	.56	.28	.70
24	.46	.63	.43	.22	.44	.27
25	.62	.50	.57	.56	.44	.72
26	.69	.88	.57	.56	.72	.50
27	.85	.63	.14	.56	.56	.80
28	.15	.25	.29	.33	.11	.12
29	.31	.50	.43	.56	.17	.58
30	.38	.50	.29	.56	.17	.65
31	.38	.63	.43	.22	.06	.50
32	.23	.38	.43	.00	.44	.45

*With three alternatives, the chance value is .33.

Table 3

Proportion of Children Answering All Members of a Set of Items Correctly

Item Clusters	Chance Probability	Private Nursery School X (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-5	Private Nursery School Y (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-6	Head Start Class M (Jewish) Mean age: 4-7	Head Start Class N (Negro) Mean age: 4-6	Head Start Class O (Negro) Mean age: 4-8	Head Start Class P (Negro) Mean age: 4-6
1. Class Membership Sets of Items							
A. Outdoor and indoor things (#19 & 21)	1/9	4/13	2/8	1/7	0/9	1/18	5/26
B. Large things and small things (#17 & 20)	1/9	1/13	1/8	2/7	1/9	3/18	5/26
C. Items involving noun family membership, i.e., fruit birds, vehicles, dogs, houses, animals (#6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 16)	1/729	4/13	1/8	0/7	1/9	0/18	0/26
D. Member of sex items (#9, 10, 14)	1/27	6/13	0/8	1/7	1/7	5/18	4/26
E. Abstract items (form or color) (#4 & 5)	1/9	8/13	4/8	4/7	7/9	9/18	16/26

Table 3 (cont.)

Item Clusters	Chance Probability	Private Nursery School X (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-5	Private Nursery School Y (White Middle Class) Mean age: 4-6	Head Start Class M (Jewish) Mean age: 4-7	Head Start Class N (Negro) Mean age: 4-6	Head Start Class O (Negro) Mean age: 4-8	Head Start Class P (Negro) Mean age: 4-6
2. One-Way Classification Sets of Items							
A. Items presenting abstract figures (#22, 23, 24, 30)	1/81	3/13	1/8	1/7	2/9	0/18	3/26
B. Representational items presenting clear distinctions between column members (#25 & 26)	1/9	6/13	3/8	2/7	3/9	6/18	7/26
C. Representational items presenting less clear distinctions between column members (#28, 29, 31)	1/27	2/13	1/8	1/7	1/9	0/18	0/26
D. All representational items (B+C) (#25, 26, 28, 29, 31)	1/243	2/13	1/8	1/7	0/9	0/18	0/26
E. Items involving row membership (#27 & 32)	1/9	3/13	2/8	0/7	0/9	4/18	1/6

Table 4

Proportion of Five Year Olds from Different Regions Answering Each Item Correctly

Item	Schl. X N=40	Schl. Y N=40	Mt. Olive N.C. N=35	Rome Ga. N=25	Item	Schl. X N=40	Schl. Y N=40	Mt. Olive N.C. N=35	Rome Ga. N=25
1	1.00	1.00	.94	1.00	22	.82	.67	.31	.36
2	1.00	.95	1.00	1.00	23	.82	.60	.51	.52
3	.82	.77	.94	.80	24	.80	.57	.57	.60
					25	.80	.60	.51	.48
4	.90	.72	.86	1.00	26	.87	.75	.80	.64
5	.55	.45	.23	.60	27	.47	.17	.40	.32
6	.85	.75	.86	.92	28	.57	.45	.23	.52
7	.95	.92	.94	.96	29	.65	.32	.31	.32
8	.92	.92	.91	.92	30	.80	.52	.69	.76
9	.87	.90	.77	.96	31	.90	.50	.49	.68
10	.60	.62	.69	.68	32	.50	.20	.20	.28
11	.27	.12	.31	.16					
12	.70	.62	.80	.68	33	.20	.05	0	.16
13	.92	.72	.86	.96	34	.47	.37	.43	.48
14	.80	.65	.83	.64	35	.25	.10	.03	.04
15	.10	.22	.29	.12	36	.20	.22	.29	.12
16	.50	.35	.29	.56	37	.20	.20	.14	.32
17	.50	.37	.29	.28	38	.12	.07	.08	.12
18	.77	.82	.89	.76	39	.40	.40	.51	.28
19	.95	.70	.89	.80	40	.17	.15	.03	.08
20	.70	.50	.54	.56	41	.15	.02	.08	.04
21	.97	.67	.69	.68	42	.25	.55	.69	.88
					43	.15	.12	.20	.12
					44	.30	.22	.37	.24

Table 5

Mean Response Latencies* for Each Item According to Grade and School

Item	School A Kind.	School B Kind.	School A Grade 1	School B Grade 1	School A Grade 2	School B Grade 2	School A Grade 3	School B Grade 3
1	3.5 --	3.7 --	2.7 (7.0)	2.6 (6.0)	2.5 (6.0)	2.0 --	1.9 --	2.0 --
2	4.1 --	4.5 (6.5)	3.2 (4.0)	4.2 (4.0)	2.8 (5.0)	3.2 --	2.3 --	3.1 --
3	5.4 (4.1)	4.8 (5.2)	3.9 (4.3)	5.0 (3.3)	3.3(10.0)	3.9 (3.3)	2.9 --	3.7 (3.0)
4	4.1 (6.3)	4.8 (5.4)	3.5 (5.5)	4.8 (3.3)	2.7 (8.0)	3.2 (7.0)	2.4 --	2.7 (5.0)
5	4.3 (6.1)	4.1 (4.6)	3.2 (6.3)	4.0 (5.9)	2.8 (5.6)	3.9 (4.7)	2.9 (3.1)	2.6 (3.5)
6	6.2 (3.2)	4.9 (5.9)	4.1 (4.0)	5.3 (3.3)	3.6 --	5.0(10.0)	2.4 --	3.8 (2.0)
7	5.2 (5.5)	4.2 (7.7)	2.8 --	4.5 (4.0)	2.6 (5.0)	3.4 (5.7)	2.6 (3.5)	2.9 (4.0)
8	4.3 (4.0)	3.8 (5.3)	2.7 --	4.3 (7.5)	2.6 (9.0)	3.0 (4.3)	2.2 --	2.1 --
9	5.7 (7.8)	3.9 (6.3)	3.7(10.0)	4.8 (4.8)	4.1 (7.5)	3.3 (5.0)	3.6 --	2.8 (3.0)
10	5.3 (5.8)	4.0 (4.1)	3.5 (7.0)	4.7 (6.5)	3.2 (3.6)	4.4 (5.0)	3.9 (2.8)	2.9 (5.3)
11	7.1 (6.0)	4.2 (3.7)	6.7 (6.8)	6.4 (4.9)	6.3 (5.6)	7.0 (5.1)	3.9 (5.3)	5.2 (2.8)
12	5.1 (4.9)	3.4 (5.6)	3.6 (5.5)	4.9 (4.5)	3.1 (6.0)	3.6 (6.2)	2.9 (3.3)	3.5 (4.0)
13	3.6 (6.0)	3.4 (5.2)	2.5 (8.0)	4.1 (3.7)	2.6 (8.0)	2.8 (5.0)	2.1 --	2.5 (3.0)
14	4.9 (8.3)	4.4 (4.5)	3.7 (5.3)	4.1 (6.2)	3.4 (3.0)	3.8 (2.7)	3.2 (7.0)	3.1 (3.0)
15	8.0 (6.3)	3.1 (4.0)	8.0 (6.1)	7.0 (5.7)	7.0 (6.4)	5.2 (4.7)	3.1 (5.5)	5.7 (4.8)
16	5.5 (6.4)	4.1 (4.7)	4.6 (5.9)	5.4 (6.3)	3.1 (4.6)	4.0 (5.3)	2.9 (4.0)	4.2 (3.5)
17	7.4 (7.9)	4.4 (5.0)	6.0 (6.2)	5.5 (6.3)	5.3 (6.6)	6.5 (5.1)	5.1(10.0)	5.8 (5.0)
18	4.4 (6.6)	3.7 (4.6)	3.8 (6.0)	4.1 (6.5)	3.4 (3.7)	3.3 (5.6)	2.7 (5.7)	3.2 (3.0)
19	4.7 (8.5)	4.2 (3.8)	3.1 (8.0)	3.9 (8.3)	2.8 (4.0)	3.7 (2.1)	2.6 (3.0)	2.9 (2.7)
20	6.9 (8.4)	4.2 (4.5)	5.5 (7.1)	5.0 (8.2)	5.0 (5.6)	4.5 (6.0)	4.0 (6.3)	4.3 (6.9)
21	8.4(10.0)	4.0 (3.8)	4.9 (8.3)	4.6 (5.3)	4.6 (5.0)	4.7 (5.3)	3.5 (2.5)	2.7 (4.9)

* When item was failed, mean response latencies are given in parentheses.

Table 5 (cont.)

Item	School A Kind.	School B Kind.	School A Grade 1	School B Grade 1	School A Grade 2	School B Grade 2	School A Grade 3	School B Grade 3
22	3.1 (5.4)	3.4 (3.8)	2.8 (3.0)	3.5 (4.6)	2.4 (2.0)	3.4 (3.7)	2.2 --	2.7 (2.3)
23	2.5 (4.3)	2.9 (3.4)	2.2 (4.0)	2.7 (5.2)	1.9 (4.0)	2.2 (3.7)	1.9 --	2.1 (3.0)
24	3.2 (4.0)	3.0 (3.3)	2.3 (2.5)	2.9 (4.2)	2.3 (3.0)	2.5 (3.5)	1.9 --	2.3 (2.0)
25	4.0 (5.9)	3.8 (3.4)	2.6 (7.3)	3.1 (4.2)	4.0 (4.0)	2.8 (3.6)	2.0 --	2.4 (2.6)
26	3.0 (6.4)	3.7 (3.7)	2.5 --	3.3 (3.0)	2.4 --	2.6 (4.2)	1.7 (5.0)	2.1 (4.6)
27	4.8 (6.3)	4.0 (3.1)	4.8 (3.6)	4.8 (4.2)	3.1 (4.5)	3.8 (3.4)	3.3 (3.5)	2.5 (3.4)
28	4.4 (3.5)	3.6 (3.2)	4.1 (4.0)	4.0 (4.0)	3.3 (2.6)	3.8 (3.5)	2.7 (2.5)	3.1 (2.8)
29	5.1 (2.7)	3.9 (3.9)	4.7 (4.4)	4.8 (5.0)	4.0 (4.0)	3.9 (4.3)	3.2 (3.7)	2.9 (5.0)
30	2.5 (4.5)	3.1 (2.6)	2.4 (3.0)	3.1 (4.7)	2.1 (4.0)	2.3 (3.6)	1.9 (2.0)	2.2 (2.0)
31	4.5 (4.3)	3.4 (3.9)	3.4 --	3.7 (3.9)	2.6 (3.0)	2.9 (4.6)	2.1 (2.0)	2.5 (5.3)
32	4.1 (3.8)	2.8 (3.3)	2.2 (3.7)	3.2 (3.7)	2.4 (3.0)	3.1 (2.5)	2.2 (2.4)	2.2 (3.1)
33	5.8 (4.4)	8.0 (3.1)	4.3 (3.5)	2.4 (3.9)	2.6 (3.1)	4.6 (3.5)	2.6 (2.4)	2.8 (3.2)
34	4.3 (4.7)	3.5 (3.4)	3.3 (4.2)	3.6 (5.3)	2.9 (4.0)	3.3 (3.4)	2.6 (2.2)	3.1 (3.2)
35	4.5 (4.5)	3.8 (3.3)	3.5 (3.6)	3.2 (3.5)	3.6 (3.4)	2.0 (3.6)	3.0 (2.3)	2.8 (3.4)
36	5.4 (5.4)	4.5 (3.4)	5.2 (4.7)	4.8 (4.2)	5.5 (4.1)	7.4 (4.1)	4.2 (3.7)	5.0 (3.9)
37	4.7 (4.1)	3.5 (3.3)	2.8 (2.6)	2.4 (4.2)	3.1 (3.1)	3.3 (3.2)	2.5 (2.3)	3.2 (3.0)
38	5.6 (4.7)	2.8 (4.2)	6.5 (4.1)	3.2 (4.2)	4.2 (3.7)	6.0 (3.6)	3.6 (3.3)	4.9 (3.8)
39	5.1 (6.0)	2.6 (4.0)	3.9 (5.9)	5.5 (5.1)	2.5 (4.9)	3.7 (5.5)	3.7 (3.8)	4.1 (4.4)
40	4.9 (4.5)	3.5 (2.5)	3.3 (3.7)	3.7 (3.9)	3.5 (3.5)	4.3 (4.4)	3.2 (2.1)	2.2 (3.8)
41	4.7 (5.7)	6.0 (3.3)	4.5 (4.5)	5.7 (4.4)	4.0 (4.5)	5.2 (4.5)	3.3 (3.1)	3.8 (3.6)
42	4.0 (5.7)	3.2 (3.7)	5.3 (5.3)	5.4 (5.0)	3.2 (4.0)	4.4 (4.7)	3.4 (3.1)	4.0 (3.6)
43	6.2 (5.7)	4.6 (3.3)	5.3 (4.8)	5.5 (4.4)	4.6 (4.2)	3.7 (4.6)	3.7 (2.8)	3.6 (3.6)
44	7.2 (5.9)	4.9 (3.9)	7.1 (5.6)	4.8 (5.1)	5.4 (4.0)	5.5 (5.2)	6.8 (3.8)	4.3 (4.0)

HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

Progress Report of Research Studies
1966 to 1967
(Documents 1 - 6)

Document 2

STUDIES OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HEAD START CENTERS

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ABSTRACT

The research reported here is focused on sociologically relevant aspects of Project Head Start as contrasted with other research currently under way at Bank Street that is concerned with psychological questions. The report includes a brief discussion of the formulation of the research problems and procedures, activities involved in gaining and maintaining access to the field, and some theoretical considerations. In order to give the reader a picture of the substantive concerns of the research, we have included some findings and ideas drawn from a preliminary analysis of the data collected in two areas of concern ("Internal Organizational Development of the Head Start Center" and "The Head Start Program for Organizing Parents for Group Action"). We show that preliminary analysis has identified areas of strain between professionals and subprofessionals, difficulties associated with the involvement of parents as active participants in the organization, and the processes and practical problems of organizing parents for group action.

STUDIES OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF HEAD START CENTERS
Bank Street College of Education, Research Division

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INTRODUCTION

The sociological part of the Bank Street Head Start research program began in November, 1966 with a small-scale exploratory phase, and has since developed into a study of the social organization of Head Start centers.

As we have become acquainted with the Head Start program, we have become interested in its attempt to solve a novel set of problems of organization; problems arising from its aim to integrate into each center as a working organization or system the otherwise disparate elements of classroom education, family social service, employment of indigenous subprofessionals, parents' participation in the operation of the center, and community social-political action. The fact that the people involved are predominantly lower class and (at least in New York City where our research is being done) Negro and Puerto Rican introduces additional problems. Aside from the theoretical interest of many aspects of this development, as well as the practical value that organizational studies may have for Head Start administrators, the Head Start program seems to us to have the special significance of pointing the way in which the public schools of the urban ghettoes (and perhaps beyond the ghetto) will have to move. They too will have to combine educational and social services in order to meet the current educational crisis.

The Head Start program provides a favorable research situation in several respects. It is new enough to give us an opportunity to observe an innovative educational institution in the course of its development. The centers are small enough to be comprehended by a single field worker, and are, therefore, amenable to qualitative, comparative study of whole units within a reasonable period of time, an ideal of organizational research which is seldom possible with the resources available.

Although the specific combination of elements that gives the Head Start center its unique character is something new, the Research Division of Bank

Street College has had experience in the study of several of these components, including the relations between teacher and parents, and between parents and the school as a whole; school organization and administration; and problems of racial and ethnic integration.

The research reported here is an exploratory, qualitative, comparative study of two Head Start centers in New York City. Other centers are to be added as the research progresses.

The professional staff for this project consists of Donald Horton, Ph.D. (Anthropology), Director; Carla Drije, M.A. (Sociology), Claire Jacobson, Ph.D. (Anthropology) and Mary A. Queeley, Ph.D. (Sociology).

The present report is intended to give an overview of the first year's work. It will be divided into sections dealing with a chronological account of activities and program development, formulation of research problems, research method, field procedures, special problems of field work, analytic procedures, and a review of the findings on selected problems.

Chronology of Project Development

Initial investigation of the research possibilities of the Head Start program began in November, 1966. Miss Drije was assigned part-time to this work. We were impressed by the variety of centers and the possibilities of comparative study. At the conclusion of this preparatory period, we thought that the next step should be "a rapid survey of a large number of centers to identify significant variations which may be associated with differences in the sponsoring delegate agency, dominant philosophy (of education) of the Director, social-cultural characteristics of the clientele, and stage of program development." (First Progress Report)

As we were planning to make arrangements for such a survey, the opportunity arose to observe a group of Head Start centers operated by a church-affiliated agency (called Neighborhood North in this report) in a predominantly Negro section of the city. Although this did not offer the possibility of comparing the effects of sponsorship of different types of agencies, it did offer an opportunity to become acquainted with the details of Head Start structure and operations in a number of centers without having to negotiate with several different sponsoring agencies. From late January through April, 1967, observations were conducted in several centers of Neighborhood North. This work was conducted by Miss Drije and Dr. Jacobson (who joined the staff in March).

Early in April we reviewed our exploratory observations at these centers and prepared a new statement of the problems of interest to us. This formulation will be described below.

As a result of certain difficulties in the field (to be discussed later), our field work was suspended until early in June. At this time we shifted from observation of all the centers of Neighborhood North to an intensive study of one of them, and adopted the present plan of intensive study and comparison of a small number of centers, instead of surveying a large number.

In July arrangements were made to have Dr. Jacobson begin a study of Center Two, sponsored by a settlement house in another part of the city. This center has a mixed lower-class Negro, Puerto Rican and white clientele. Intensive field work began here in September.

In September, Dr. Queeley joined the staff and was assigned to Center One for a few months to familiarize her with the Head Start operation.

The next stage of the work is expected to begin with the assignment of Miss Drije and Dr. Queeley to new centers shortly after the start of the new year. We hope that it will be possible to obtain the cooperation of a center connected with a public school and one connected with a community-action project. The criteria for selection of the other centers have not yet been decided upon.

The final analysis of the data and preparation of the report of findings are expected to occupy us during the last half of 1968.

Formulation of Research Problems

In April, 1967, after a month and a half of observation of the Neighborhood North centers, we found that we had become interested in six aspects of the social organization of the centers as subjects for further research. As formulated in an intra-staff memorandum of April 12, these six aspects were:

1. The internal organizational development of the Head Start centers
2. Teacher-parent relations in Head Start
3. Head Start in relation to the family life of the participants
4. The Head Start program of organizing parents for group action
5. Organizational relations between Head Start and the public schools
6. Sponsorship and participation

On the basis of the preliminary data we formulated some leading hypotheses and questions for each of these aspects to guide the next phase of research, the beginning of an intensive and comparative study of a small number of Head Start centers. In summary form, the leading ideas for each of these areas were as follows:

1. Internal organizational development
    a. The centers are working out the relations (role definitions, reciprocal obligations, etc.) between professional staff members representing different professions (e.g., teachers and social workers), between the professional and their respective lay assistants (teacher aides and family workers), and between the lay assistants.

    b. It was hypothesized that the development of the organizational structure and of the program would be influenced by the degree to which actual (as against nominal) leadership was assumed by one professional or the other, and by the professional ideological orientation of the professionals, e.g., casework vs. group work orientation of the social worker, traditional or modern educational philosophy of the teacher.

c. The basic role relationships will be modified by differences among the participants in race, ethnicity, social class and relationship to the community (as indigenous members or as "outsiders").

d. Efforts to bring parents into an active role in the life of the center will give rise to the issue of lay vs. professional authority, and to problems due to differences in the perspectives of lower-class parents and middle-class professionals on child rearing and education.

e. With respect to the development of indigenous people as volunteers and paid workers, there will be problems of recruitment and training to be investigated.

2. Teacher-parent relations in Head Start

What assumptions about the values of communication between teachers and parents underlie the Head Start emphasis upon such communication?

a. There is an implied division of responsibilities for the child and his education as between teacher and parents. What are the consequences of these assumptions for their respective roles in the educational process?

b. How is the reciprocal character of these roles defined? It may be predicted that the center program will attempt to develop, correct, regulate and monitor their reciprocal relationship.

c. How is home visiting by the teacher expected to contribute to this process of adjustment? The process will be affected by cultural, ethnic, and racial differences between teacher and parents.

d. The indigenous workers in the center may act as mediators and facilitators of teacher-parent communication.

3. Effects of the program on the family life of the participants

The Head Start program is intended to influence parents to improve their child-rearing practices and to stimulate their personal and social development in ways that will be beneficial to family life and, therefore, to the child's intellectual, emotional and social development.

It is evident that a large number of variable social conditions will have to be taken into account in attempting to assess the program's influence on parents and how this influence is exerted under different conditions. •

a. The center will have different kinds and degrees of influence on the families of indigenous paid workers, volunteer assistants and parent leaders, rank-and-file parent participants in parents' activities, and non-participant parents.

b. Its influence will be felt differently in intact, nuclear families; one-parent nuclear families; extended families based on intact nuclear families, etc.

c. Another relevant condition is the extent to which the family is involved in other community activities such as the church or public school PTA.

d. The role of the father in the program, if there is a father in residence, is a significant factor in the problem of influence. We need to investigate the aims of the program with respect to the father. What assumptions are made about the father's role in relation to early childhood development? Is he expected to have a significant role and if so, how should it be enacted?

e. The program may have some negative consequences, e.g., generate conflicts between wife and husband, between mother and grandmother, etc.

f. In many families, older siblings may have a role in the rearing of younger children. What is the significance of this role and how does, or could, the Head Start program affect it?

4. The Head Start program of organizing parents for group action

From a sociological viewpoint, this is an especially crucial aspect of the program. The kinds of community action fostered by O.E.O. could have consequences for American life beyond the specific program (such as Head Start) in which they occur. But the poor, as compared with the middle class, are notoriously hard to organize for constructive action either in effective numbers or over an adequate period of time. What is learned about this problem in the experience of Head Start may be of value in helping to solve the problem in other contexts as well.

a. Over and above the practical difficulties in the way of participation in organizational activity, do lower-class people have special psychological and cultural impediments to overcome? What is involved in teaching Head Start parents to participate in organizational activities?

b. What is the role of staff professionals and lay assistants as advisers and teachers of organizational forms and procedures?

c. Problems of recruitment and of maintaining participation.

d. Recognition and development of leadership.

e. The problem of involving the man of the family.

5. Organizational relations between Head Start and the public schools

The Head Start program may be expected to affect the local public elementary schools both indirectly through the preparation given the children and through the expectations of Head Start-trained parents; and directly, through reciprocal contacts between Head Start and public school staff members.

a. Relations mediated primarily through children

This is a matter primarily of educational preparation which will exercise a pressure upon the public schools to upgrade their own kindergarten programs.

b. Role of the parents

It may be anticipated that parents trained by Head Start will expect a greater degree of participation in school policy-making than the public school people are accustomed to giving and that they will expect more communication with the teachers than the latter are prepared for.

Head Start parents are likely to give a greater militancy to the existing Parents' Associations in public schools.

6. Sponsorship and participation

a. Sponsorship

How do the structure, purposes, ideology and other activities of the delegate agency (when Head Start is not its only interest) affect the Head Start operation?

b. Participation

What population is being reached and recruited for Head Start? Is it reaching the people at the bottom of the social scale -- the "lower-lower class" in Warner's terminology, or Myrdal's "underclass"?

How does the nature of the recruitment process affect the achieved social composition of the Head Start clientele? Who joins and who refuses? Who drops out and why?

Research Strategy

Starting with the rough indicators just described, we began a concentrated field study of one of the Neighborhood North centers (Center One) and later added Center Two at the Bridgeside Settlement. Our method is intended to be primarily inductive, developing its theoretical formulations as it proceeds and refining them as new data are obtained, both from renewed observation of earlier centers, and from new observations at the centers to be added. One might describe this as a process of successive comparisons, in the course of which generalizations suggested in one case are tested on successive cases. In the course of the generalizing and testing process, one discovers what are the essential and comparable features (for these particular centers) and what are the variable conditions with respect to a given kind of interaction or structural change. This method has been described as the method of constant comparison.[1]

The kind of theoretical formulation aimed at is of a relatively low level of generality: it starts as a theory of a particular kind of phenomena in a particular situation, such as the process of voluntary organization among lower-class parents in Head Start. Some of the more general formulations arrived at may have a presumptive validity for voluntary organization among lower-class people (at least, lower-class Negro and Puerto Rican women); and for voluntary organization generally, at least among Americans. At some points the propositions emerging from this study may be integrated with those of more abstract and general sociological theories of interaction and organization. Our immediate concern, however, is the lower levels of theory. Glaser and Strauss have used the term "substantive theory" for this kind of theory about a particular kind of behavior in a particular kind of situation.

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[1] For discussion of the method of constant comparison, see Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, Anselm, "Discovery of Substantive Theory: A Basic Strategy Underlying Qualitative Research," American Behavioral Scientist, 8 (Feb., 1965), pp. 5-12, and, by the same authors, The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1967.

Ideally, in work of this sort, the development of theory should occur along with the field research, each modifying the other.

Concepts and propositions from existing theory may be incorporated as the need for them arises, but we are rejecting the model of research in which a set of propositions is developed in advance of the research from existing theory and is then tested. There are several reasons for this choice; among them the fact that a suitable body of theory with respect to the phenomena of education, of teacher-parent relations, and of voluntary organization does not exist; secondly, that even if it did, testing theoretical propositions formulated deductively would oblige us to discard too much of our data; and thirdly, theory at high levels of generality is less useful for practical administrators. One might add to these considerations the personal preference of the researchers for the observation and appreciation of the concrete details of social life.

Some Theoretical Considerations

Since it is impossible to set down all the theoretical assumptions and conceptions with which we approach the work reported here, we can only state some of those parts of our theoretical scheme which might differentiate us from other researchers.

Our purpose is to discover the patterns of social interaction observed in the Head Start centers and to explain them by describing the processes and conditions under which they are initiated (if we are lucky enough to be on hand when this occurs), or maintained, or changed over the course of time. Of the conditions under which interaction occurs, we are especially interested in the cultural and institutional structures (of role, norm, ideology, etc.) which regulate interaction. Interaction is viewed as a process in which people attempt to deal with their common problems of action by "solving" them, or coming to terms with them, or trying to redefine them, or in some other way settling them. Institutional structures are viewed as the relatively (but only relatively) stable products of past problem-solving action which to some degree govern, or are intended to govern, current action. We are especially interested in discovering the processes through which the interaction of the moment may be generating new elements of this structure or modifying old ones.

Interaction is viewed as a process in which the participants interpret the situation and its governing structures according to their different perspectives and attempt to find ways of acting which take into account the perspectives of the others (accepting, compromising, opposing, ignoring, etc.). Included in the perspectives of the participants, and important in understanding them, are their witting or unwitting assumptions about the situation and the institutional structure governing it. Many assumptions (norms, values) are inherent in the institutional structure itself. Often these are so taken for granted as to be unobserved and unverbalized by the participants, but they underlie and help to determine conscious perspectives. One of the most significant questions that may be asked with respect to any institutional situation is whether the perspectives of the participants actually "fit" the assumptions upon which the institutional rules and expectations are built.

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For example, it is assumed in the basic value structure and in the practical arrangements of the school that the teacher, responsible for a group of children, will see them as a group and will attempt to maintain a group morale by being "fair" to all, that is, avoiding favoritism, holding all accountable to the same rules, etc. The parent approaching the situation with an overriding interest in his own child is likely to make demands that, translated into action, would amount to favoritism. This nearly inevitable difference in perspective is one of the conditions of tension that may be incorporated into a substantive theory of teacher-parent relations as a near universal (applicable wherever a teacher is responsible both to a class of pupils and also to their several parents). To take another example: in developing a theory of voluntary associations, we note that the association typically adopts a modified version of parliamentary procedure in the conduct of its meetings, and that there appear to be implicit in these procedures certain assumptions about the democratic process which imply that the people participating should have certain attitudes, certain capacities for mutual tolerance, consideration, etc. Variations in the actual operation of parliamentary procedures in an organization may be attributable to attitudes or perspectives which are not congruent with the rules of procedure and their underlying values.

When we speak of the development of substantive theory for an area like teacher-parent relations or the voluntary parents' association, we mean the development of an interconnected set of propositions of the kind just stated, and a statement of the patterns of interaction to which they give rise under various controlling cultural and institutional conditions. We are especially interested in arriving at the description of patterns of development, sequences of change, which may be predicted under given conditions, for example successive stages in the "life-history" of a voluntary organization.

Research Procedures

The data are collected chiefly through participant-observation and informal interviewing. The discovery of the perspectives of the actors, both individual and collective or group perspectives, is a result of direct questioning, listening to what people say in the normal course of events, and inference from observed behavior. The underlying institutional assumptions are inferred from institutional rules and customary procedures (as well as from previous research and from the researchers' previous experience with such institutions as the school). Since much of the Head Start activity in which we are interested consists of the communication exchanges of groups meeting as committees, clubs, classes or taking part in picnics, parties, etc., or as action-groups (e.g., demonstrations), much of the field data consists of stenographic accounts of the transactions and conversations of these groups, plus the observer's notes on non-verbal action, and reports of subsequent private comments on the events of the meeting. There are also field notes on casual encounters and conversations and transcripts of some tape-recorded interviews.

The question of reliability of observational notes is, of course, difficult to answer satisfactorily. Theoretically, all observations should be done by a team whose members subsequently compare notes and check on each other's interpretations. This is an expensive procedure and sometimes is impractical because the field situation cannot accommodate several observers (e.g., at a small meeting). We have obtained a degree of control by arranging that at least two of the three field workers will have worked in the same center each for some period of time, although only one of them has full responsibility for work at the center. The point of this arrangement is that there is always another staff member who knows the people involved and can be consulted or even brought in temporarily as an assistant observer where an additional interpretation of the situation is called for. However, continuity of relationship with the center over a period of time is one of the best guarantees of the quality of the reporting, since it is increasing familiarity with the people, the procedures, the problems and issues, and, most important, the immediate past history of events, that permit the observer to understand what is happening and what is important. For this reason, each of our field workers is, or will be, responsible for work in one center over a period of some months.

Next Stage of the Work

In a later section of this report, we present initial summaries and interpretations of data from the two centers now under observation. It will be seen that the data are only partly parallel, and that they are still primarily descriptive. The next stage of the field work will be directed to filling out the comparisons, while concurrently the theoretical interpretation of this material is being carried forward and made progressively more systematic and integrated as a feedback control on the continuing data collection. Such a procedure, of course, imposes a very heavy burden on the researchers (as compared with the kind of research procedure in which, after some preliminary investigation, one returns to the field with prepared and limited interview and observational schedules.) We may find it necessary, in pursuing this strategy of inquiry, to reduce further the number of substantive areas to which the research is directed.

Some Social Problems of Field Work

During the first year of the project we have had some difficulties in the field that may be of interest because they have been to some extent reflections of the current mood in the poor and/or Negro neighborhoods.

The research bargain is hard to maintain when the research project requires the presence of one or more observers in a social group as small as a Head Start center over a considerable period of time. The procedure imposes physical and psychological burdens: the presence of an alien intruder (more alien in the case of two field workers who are white, than in the case of the other, a Negro, but all highly educated "outsiders"), and the anxiety provoked by a continuous note-taking which remains mysterious and threatening (perhaps by analogy with the note-taking of welfare case workers) even when the eventual purpose of the note-taking is believed to be benign. At Neighborhood North, where we were visiting all of its centers, there was the additional difficulty that the delegate agency staff was unwilling to give us carte blanche to make our own appointments for visits and interviews and then complained about the "burden" we were imposing upon them.

But we have also run into additional obstacles related to current feeling in the Negro ghetto. At Neighborhood North we found the Negro leadership itself ambivalent and disposed to drive a hard bargain in return for defending us against race-conscious and hostile members of the staff whose view was that the Negro community had been "researched to death," without noticeably improving the ghetto. To them "research" is, from the point of view of community welfare, just another of Whitey's stalling devices, the academic "put-off." We attempted to meet these difficulties by taking the staff into our confidence with respect to our research interests. A memo containing an abbreviated statement of the research questions previously outlined in this report was mimeographed and distributed to the staff members of the delegate agency and the several centers, but this communication brought no response in the way of awakened curiosity about the questions raised or inclination to collaborate with us in trying to answer them.

In one of our meetings with the staff it was suggested that the researchers themselves were exploiting the Negro and the poor for their own personal benefit. The question of compensation was raised -- by some as a demand for direct payment in money, and by others as a question of collective rewards for the cooperating centers. The director of the delegate agency raised it as a question of some sort of certificate of training which would have some value in the job market to be issued by Bank Street College to those who cooperated. The question of employing indigenous people in our work was also raised. At one point, permission to carry on our work at Neighborhood North became contingent on our answering some of these demands satisfactorily, and for a period of two months the field work at Center One had to be suspended. During the period we applied to Washington for permission to give some kind of compensation to the center in money or kind, but this application was denied. In the end we were able to continue with the work as a result of insisting that the research we were conducting would (and will, in fact) be of value in improving the Head Start program nationally, and by promising that at the conclusion of our work we would have some practical suggestions to make to the staff of the center for improving their own work.

We also agreed to discuss with them the possible initiation of any experimental or developmental project that might seem called for by our comments. However, once the work was resumed, and as the people involved in the center became accustomed to and friendly towards our field workers, all these resentments and resistances seem to have disappeared, at least at the center level.

At Center Two we have had difficulties in the form of evasions, broken promises, failure in cooperation, etc., rather than in the form of open conflict and demands. This opposition, too, is gradually diminishing as the people of the center become accustomed to the researcher's presence, which no longer appears threatening to them.

A REVIEW OF FINDINGS ON SELECTED PROBLEMS

The field-notes are voluminous, even at this stage of the research; and it is difficult to find a meaningful way of reporting them. What is most significant in the notes will become clearer as we proceed to compare the findings from later centers with the findings from the earlier ones and as the problems become progressively better defined. In order to give some idea of the nature of our observations, we have prepared brief descriptions of the two centers and a summary of data from these centers relevant to the first and fourth sections of our initial formulation of research problems: Internal organizational development and The program of organizing parents for group action. Under the first heading we note particularly the relations between professional staff members, indigenous lay assistants, and the parents. Under the second, we present some information about procedures and problems involved in organizing parents for group action. But it should be understood that the following presentation, having been especially prepared for the purposes of the report, does not review all the material available, nor does it touch on all the implications of the material it does report. There is no attempt made here to present a systematic comparative analysis, nor to develop the questions, hunches and theories which the data obtained so far suggest we pursue in the next phase of field work. The actual organization of our material for the purposes of the research at the present stage is a process of coding, cross referencing, charting, etc., which does not lend itself to display.

Summary Description of Center One

Center One consists of two classrooms which are technically two separate

Head Start centers (Center One A and Center One B), but they are housed in a common building and engage in many common activities. The building is a three-story church of a major denomination with a Negro pastor and congregation. It is well kept up but is located on a rather deteriorated city block. The physical facilities include two adjoining classrooms (one for each center) located on the second floor, and a large meeting room and kitchen located in the basement. The family staff uses one corner of the meeting room as an office. As of November 15, 59 children were enrolled in the two classrooms. All the children and the entire staff are Negroes. According to one of the staff members, one third of the families are welfare clients.

The dual purpose of the Head Start program, which involves working with parents as well as children, is reflected in the staff organization and activities of the two centers. Although ordinarily each classroom has a licensed teacher as well as a teacher aide, currently at Center One, because of a lack of teachers, there are four teacher aides. The teaching staff is largely responsible for implementing that part of the Head Start program concerned with providing educational and enrichment experiences for the children. The responsibility for the other part of the program, i.e., work with parents, is assumed by the family staff, which consists of one family assistant and two family workers (one for each center). A food aide completes the staff roster at Center One; she is assisted by the church custodian.

As mentioned above, the program of Center One provides activities for two groups -- children and parents. The children are inducted into a variety of educational activities (spoken of as "learning experiences") including sight-seeing trips (called simply "trips"), recreation, classroom games and singing, "art work" and some formal academic training (first steps in arithmetic and reading).

The pivotal activities of the program for parents are regularly scheduled PTA meetings in which issues are aired and subsidiary parent programs are planned and implemented. At Center One, such issues have included the recent teachers' strike and the recruitment of new teachers for the children. Projects have included an adult education class, a club for welfare recipients, a sewing class, a typing class, as well as a committee to plan a proposed playground. The PTA and its activities are carried on jointly by parents from both classrooms.

Summary Description of Center Two

Center Two is housed on the ground floor of a building belonging to a City Housing Authority project. Physical facilities include three fully equipped classrooms, a large meeting room, a lounge for teachers, an office used by social service staff, and a kitchen. As of November 1, 80 children were enrolled in the program. Their ethnic composition is the following: 47 per cent Negro, 45 per cent Spanish speaking, and 8 per cent White and Oriental.

Although ordinarily each classroom has a licensed teacher as well as a teacher aide, currently at Center Two, because of staff shortages, there are two teachers for three classrooms. Three teacher aides are each responsible for a classroom and they are assisted by parents who volunteer their services for a few hours each week. The teaching staff is largely responsible for implementing that part of the Head Start program concerned with providing educational and enrichment experiences for the children. The responsibility for the other part of the program, i.e., work with parents, is assumed by the family staff, which consists of one family assistant and three family workers. The family staff recruit children and parents to the program, investigate absentees and dropouts, provide escort services for children, check to see that medical and dental services are provided to the children, mediate relations between parents and a variety of bureaucracies, and guide parent activities at the center. A secretary, a records clerk, a cook and a cook aide who prepare lunch and snacks for children, and a custodian complete the staff roster at Center Two.

A variety of different types of educational experiences comprise the children's program. Included are trips, games, singing, story telling, art work, outdoor physical activities and formal academic work. The parent program includes irregularly scheduled meetings of the overall parent association and a variety of other activities: school committee, neighborhood improvement committee, food cooperative, newspaper committee, sewing class and weight watchers' club.

The integration between the two parts of the program is achieved mainly by the family staff, who have responsibilities to both parents and children, and by the parents who assist in the classroom and on trips.

The overall administration of the center is provided by the director, assisted until recently by a social worker. She holds weekly meetings with the entire staff to keep them abreast of developments in different parts of the program. She consults frequently with the director of the settlement house which sponsors the center and acts as liaison between the center and the city central office.

The director of the center, a teacher by training, meets weekly with the teaching staff in an effort to upgrade their performance. Weekly inservice training for family staff is provided by a social work consultant from a local university. A workshop for the entire staff is also given monthly by a specialist in early childhood education.

A. Internal Organizational Development of the Head Start Center

CENTER ONE

The following discussion of the internal organization of a Head Start center includes: (1) a brief description of the various levels of personnel in the center, their prescribed duties as well as the recruitment and training of the subprofessional group; (2) the patterns of interaction between these levels of personnel in performing their duties and implementing the goals of Head Start; and (3) problems and strains arising from the implementation of these goals and the sociocultural characteristics of the staff and target population. These areas are the major foci of this preliminary analysis of the data; however, in the following discussion their order is somewhat revised for clearer presentation.

I. The Structure and Organization of the Center

As mentioned elsewhere in this report, Center One is formally two Head Start centers, designated as One A and One B.

There are two major levels of personnel at Center One -- the salaried staff and the parents. The inclusion of the latter may appear unusual since descriptions of internal organizational structure ordinarily do not include the client population of the organization. However, in view of the formal goals of Project Head Start and of the integral role parents play in the functioning of this center, their inclusion appears justified.

1. The Staff

The paid staff is divided along functional lines into teaching staff and social service staff (family staff).

The teaching staff. Each of the classrooms at Center One had, until September, 1967, a teacher-director who was a certified professional and a teacher aide who was a salaried subprofessional and considered an "indigenous worker." Since the resignations of the two teacher-directors in September, 1967, responsibility for the educational program has devolved on the teacher aides. These two teacher aides have been assisted by newly assigned teacher aides and by parents acting as volunteers in the classroom.

The teaching staff is under the supervision of the education director at the delegate agency. The teacher-director has formal responsibility for classroom activities and the teacher aide assists her in fulfilling it. In practice, they work as a team in carrying out the educational program with the teacher-director taking the more active role in teaching. For example, the teacher-director would do the formal teaching in colors, numbers, words, etc., while the teacher aide did "table work" with the children, helping them to practice what they had been taught. She would also perform custodial duties, such as clearing the table, while the teacher-director read a story to the whole group or was singing with a subgroup. The daily duties of the teaching staff included not only formal teaching, but also outdoor and indoor play periods for the children, preparing the classroom before the children arrived and keeping various records on the children. Center One has a strong academic orientation in teaching preschoolers. The family assistant describes this orientation and makes note of the parents' preference for it:

> Now, there are different theories, I know, in teaching. Everyone does not believe that children of this age can do fractions and read words. I met a girl on the street just this morning who was taking her child to another Head Start (evidently the child was not at Center One), and she said she didn't know what the purpose was, because all they did was play. Now, of course, it's possible that children learn by playing, but here (at Center One) the parents see that the children are learning fractions and can read words. They have an idea of what "one half" is, for example, and the parents prefer to keep this system.

The social service staff. The social service staff of the center consist of a family assistant and two family workers -- one for One A and another for One B. These three individuals are salaried, subprofessional, indigenous workers (however, at least one of them does not live in the neighborhood). They are under the supervision of a professional social worker whose office is at the headquarters of the delegate agency. Consequently, there are no professionals in a social service capacity working at the local center.

The family assistant is responsible for parent and community activities. In addition, she acts as a liaison between the delegate agency and the parents (especially the assistant administrator and the social worker) and between the parents and the director of parent activities at the city central Head Start office. Her relationship to the family workers appears to be partially supervisory. This is reflected in the salary differential (about $40.00 weekly) and the fact that they often consult with her regarding the disposition of problems. In the following statement, one of the family workers describes the relationship between the family assistant and family workers at Center One:

> The family workers only assist the family assistant. The family assistant is responsible for the PTA, for coordination of the two centers. Our job consists of helping her.

The family workers at Center One, a female and a male (later transferred to a new position at another center in October, 1967) have a wide range of prescribed duties. The male family worker described his job in the following way:

> I see myself principally as a liaison between the parents and the school. I'm a non-professional social worker....We (the family workers) work with parents

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> and the school. We have community projects and the adult education course -- and we recruit children.

They work with "community projects" and "the adult education course" in their capacity as assistant to the family assistant. Other duties for which they are specifically responsible include: the recruitment and registration of children in the Head Start program, taking children to the hospital and dentist, relieving teachers, arranging appointments for parent-teacher conferences, checking up on absent children, making home visits to get information on any of the foregoing or to gather knowledge about the home situation that would be useful to the teachers, keeping records on all these and other activities as well, and advising and aiding parents with personal problems. One family worker describes in the following excerpts what is involved in some of these tasks:

> RECRUITMENT -- We recruit children...through publicity, i.e., signs and posters in stores in the neighborhood. Laundromats are a good place. Mothers hang around them and talk with each other. We also put posters in the dry cleaners, barber shops and beauty shops....Sometimes we just approach people on the street who have small children with them. We ask them if they are in a Head Start program already and if they aren't we invite them to come to Center One....One of the best ways to recruit children is through mothers who are already in Head Start. They tell their friends and they tell others and this is really a good way.
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> CHECKING ON ABSENTEES AND DROPOUTS -- Another thing we do is a lot of following through, that is, following through on children who are absent from class....You have to stay on some parents and prod them gently -- some of them have a pattern of absenteeism....You can get bogged down for a whole day following through on some children. Just this morning, I have already spent an hour on the telephone, but many parents don't have telephones so that you have to go to their homes and then you may not find them in. That's why I often go to homes at 8:00 or 8:30 in the morning before I come to the center....In the mornings I come upstairs to check on attendance of the children and then those who aren't there, we follow up on....

> RECORD KEEPING -- Downstairs (where the family staff keep their records and work) we keep a file of the children who are registered...that has to be kept up to date because sometimes they drop out. Upstairs we have personal files of the parents and the children. The teachers keep up the records of the children and we keep up the parents' activity file. That is, we make notes about those parents who are agreeable, disagreeable, hard to reach, ones who go on trips (classroom trips for the children). We have such a folder on every parent.
>
> CONTACTING PARENTS FOR MEETINGS -- We are supposed to contact parents at 12:00 and 3:00 (when they come to pick up their children) to remind them about the meetings. We are also supposed to be here at 9:00 to see the parents.

2. The Parents

The parents constitute the third major personnel level of the center. One reason for their importance is the fact that they have played a vital role in the day-to-day functioning of the center, especially since September, 1967, when the two teacher-directors resigned.

Parents participate in a variety of ways. In their role as parents of children enrolled in the Head Start program, they observe in the classroom, assist with children on trips, attend PTA meetings and parent-teacher conferences. Their volunteer work in the class on a regular basis has enabled the center to weather a crisis period from September to date. Several parents offered their services in the classroom on a regular basis. For example, one or two parents would work in one classroom each morning session, and another one or two each afternoon session. This was done for both classrooms. In addition, when one of the teacher aides was absent, other parents would offer their help during her absence. The availability, willingness and dependability of these parents have allowed the center to deal with some degree of success with two deterrents to the effective functioning of the organization -- staff mobility and staff absenteeism (to be discussed later).

In addition to the teaching staff, the family staff and the parents, there are other individuals and groups who play a role in the internal functioning of the center. The food aide prepares the children's meals and the church's custodian delivers the food to the classrooms on the second floor from the kitchen in the basement. A psychologist meets weekly with the teachers to discuss children, and with the parents individually and in groups to discuss problems they are having with their children and to advise them on child-rearing methods. The delegate agency staff plays an important role in the internal functioning of the center.

The center has close and essential ties to the delegate agency. Meetings of the center staff with the staff of the delegate agency are held monthly. The agency staff consists of the Director, an Educational Director, a Social Service Director, and an Administrative Assistant. The latter has requested minutes of all center staff meetings and the agendas of all PTA meetings. The Social Service Director attends some PTA meetings and the Education Director occasionally visits the classrooms. The family and teaching staffs of all the centers meet separately with some members of the delegate agency staff. Directives are given at these meetings and some policies formulated. The delegate agency has also held a conference for the entire staff and parents of all the centers. All supplies for the classroom, kitchen and office are ordered through the delegate agency. It also handles all financial transactions with the host church. The telephones at the center are part of the telephone system at the delegate agency.

II. Intra-staff Relationships

In addition to the array of roles that constitutes the structure of an organization, the patterns of interaction are of importance in describing its internal organizational development. In this section, we shall be concerned with the patterns of interaction and the areas of strain among the staff.

1. Working Relationships of the Staff

In the description of the various staff roles above, mention was made of the working relationships between individuals in the same functional category, i.e., between the teacher-director and teacher aide, and between the family assistant and the family workers. Here, we shall focus on such relationships between the two major functional staff categories at the center -- the teaching staff and the social service staff.

There are many areas of interaction between these two staff groups with regard to the children. There are several regular occasions on which the family staff and the teaching staff interact with regard to routine matters. In the morning and afternoon, the family worker checks with the teacher on absent children so that the former can make home visits to find out reasons for absence. Between 12:00 and 12:30, the family worker relieves the teaching staff and is present in the classroom to supervise any morning session children who are obliged to linger because their parents are late in calling for them and any afternoon session children who arrive early. Again, at 3:30, the family workers return to the classroom to supervise children until their parents arrive.

An important area of cooperation between the family and teaching staffs is the former's function as a link between the school and the parent. This was summed up by one of the consulting psychologists at a family staff meeting:

> Your position as family staff is understanding the parent and the home situation and reporting this to the teacher....

The hope is that this will be of assistance to the teacher in handling the child in the classroom. One teacher-director expressed it in this way:

> ...the family workers...work with the teachers in terms of any problems...in the home; and they let us know if there is something really serious there, that we (the teaching staff) need to know.

If the teacher has a child who is a problem, she may ask the family worker to investigate the home situation in order to secure information that may be of assistance to her in handling the child in the classroom. She may also request the family worker to arrange a parent-teacher conference.

The discussion of the psychological and educative problems of individual children is another area of cooperation between the family staff and the teaching staff. This occurs at center staff meetings, as well as informally between a family staff member and the teaching staff. Informal discussion often takes place in the morning (when the family worker goes to the classroom to check on absent children). There has been a lag in such discussion at Center One for several months. This, one of the teacher-directors attributes to poor staff relationships at the center and the advent of a consulting psychologist with whom she (the teacher-director and/or the teacher-aide) discusses individual children.

Teaching staff and family staff cooperated in making home visits during last winter and spring (1967). The delegate agency decided that these visits should be made. One member of the teaching staff and one member of the family staff went on each visit. The family worker arranged the appointment with the parents. One teacher-director explains why she thinks this staff combination was a good idea:

> I preferred it because most of the parents knew Mr. I (the family worker); he had been in their homes before, and even though they knew me, it was sort of a different atmosphere when the teacher comes with the family worker.

The family worker gives his conception of the purpose of the visits:

> The teacher would ask mainly what the parent thought about the school and it gave the family worker an idea of what the building was like. (The family worker mentioned that they needed information on the condition of the buildings in which the children lived for the records.)

Family and teaching staff members also meet at staff meetings at the center, and at meetings of the center staff with the staff of the delegate agency.

The two staffs cooperate in introducing the parent of a newly registered child to the center program. After the child is registered by the family staff, the parent is told about the various parent activities, and then taken upstairs to the teacher who is supposed to describe the educational part of the program for the child. PTA meetings provide another opportunity for cooperation between the family and teaching staffs. The family worker also cooperates with the teaching staff by asking parents to observe or to help in the classroom.

2. Areas of Strain in Intra-staff Relationships

In the following description of strains in intra-staff relationships, we are concerned with universal problems of organization as expressed under the special conditions of Head Start.

Division of labor. Strain in this area usually arises from: (1) the occurrence of problems unforeseen by those who wrote the job descriptions for the various positions in the center and the blueprint for the program; and (2) in those areas of the center's operation where two different functional staff levels deal with a common object. For example, with regard to (1), a problem arose at Center One regarding who was to take responsibility for children who arrived early and stayed late in either the morning or afternoon sessions. The official working hours for the staff are 9:00 to 4:00, and the morning session for the children, 9:00 to 12:00 and the afternoon, 12:30 to 3:30. Members of the teaching staff and one of the family staff were reluctant to arrive at the center before 9:00. One family worker often made home calls before 9:00 a.m. on those parents who worked. This problem was resolved by an agreement according to which the teaching staff members would alternate in arriving at 8:30 daily and leaving at 3:30 and the social service staff would alternate in staying in the afternoon until all the children had been picked up; this was likely to extend beyond 4:00.

In those areas in which both family workers and the teaching staff deal with a common object, strains also occurred with respect to the division of labor and responsibility. The object usually is the parent, and occasionally the child. For example, strain also seems to be apparent on occasions when there is a "problem" child in the classroom. Who makes the decision to contact the parent? The teacher-director recounts an incident that relates to this problem area:

> Sometimes F, the family worker, and the family worker before her would ask parents to come in, particularly parents of children they felt were behavior problems...sometimes they (the family workers) feel that they should ask the parent (to come in) without...talking to me; not because there

> is anything...underhanded, but because they see the children in the classroom and sometimes they see her in a different way than M (teacher aide) and I because we're there all the time....So, they (the family workers) might see a child....Like, I remember once F (family worker) said to me, "I think Daryl really is a problem...and I want to speak to his mother. He's just not doing very well." So, we argued about it because I thought he was doing better than he had been doing. But she saw him like once in the situation...and she was right in that situation....He was being a miserable little kid....

The differing perceptions of the situation may have been due to differences in exposure to the child, but also to differences in professional perspective.

The family assistant is in charge of PTA meetings, and usually the family workers are also present at such meetings. The name "Parent-Teacher Association" (PTA) implies that the teacher is expected to be present and involved in the meetings and activities. The family staff, however, complained of the teachers' non-attendance and tardiness. In PTA meetings observed, the members of the teaching staff were seldom present, and when they were, they made very little contribution.

Communication. Problems in intra-staff communication occur in large and small organizations. Center One is not different. In many situations, the problem of communication was complicated by differences in professional status, the functional division of labor and racial differences. At staff meetings attended (during the period when there were teacher-directors at the center), the observers noted feelings of ill will, antagonism and distrust between the family staff and the teaching staff. However, it can be said, parenthetically, that the relationship between the two staffs has improved since September, 1967, when the teachers resigned and the teacher aides took over their responsibilities. The reasons for this change of tone are being investigated.

In addition to impressions received by our researchers while observing staff meetings and other work situations, we have information from interviews and conversations in which several staff members expressed concern about the lack of communication or poor communication between the family staff and teaching staff. For example, one teacher-director said:

> Recently, things haven't been in a good working relationship, and I don't know what it stems from, probably personal feeling. I don't know...but we haven't...really discussed the children since about June....Well, also, another thing that happened is that we got a psychologist on the staff and now...I discuss with him the children in terms of behavior and any psychological problems, that I feel are psychological problems....So that kind of cut it off again, too, in terms of discussing with the family worker the children....The family worker, at the same time, has gotten a lot more paper work in terms of medicals for children and the whole medical aspect of the program.

This quotation suggests that poor communication resulted from changes in work relationships and duties. The teachers preferred to discuss the children with the new psychological consultant rather than with the family staff and the family staff was at the same time given additional clerical duties.

In a meeting of the consulting psychologist and the family staff, the problem of communication is apparent from the psychologist's opening remarks regarding the purpose of the meeting:

> We are meeting together today to talk about the Head Start program and how to make it better in the long run, how to make it more effective. We have met with the teachers and they have spoken of some disagreements with the family staff. There seems to be some clashing of interest and competitiveness between the teaching and the family staff. So, that is something we would like to discuss today.

The desire to alleviate the problem is evidenced by the reply of a family worker when he was asked, at the end of the meeting, his opinion regarding having another meeting: "It was all right today, but let's have the teachers in with us next time."

Preliminary analysis of the field notes suggests many reasons for the poor communication. Most are related to professional, functional and socioeconomic status differences. The first (professional) is very strongly evidenced in an exchange between the family staff and the consulting psychologist at the meeting mentioned above. Family workers related incidents in which the professional teaching staff antagonized parents. The psychologist suggested that briefing the teacher on the family situation might help. One family worker replied:

> Well, now, let's face it. She (the teacher-director) is a professional. She is going to get resentful and it will create furor if we say things that she might not want to hear.

At the same meeting, another family worker related an incident in which a teacher was talking about a parent within earshot of the parent and the child. When she told the teacher that she should not do that, she alleged that the teacher replied, "So what? I don't care." The psychologist suggested that she should not tell the teacher she was wrong, but to say that she (the family worker) thought the parent was resentful about what she (the teacher) said. The family worker, asked about his opinion of the meeting above, countered the psychologist's response with the following comment:

> I don't think we should say anything to the teacher. There should be no recrimination against the teacher. Just try as hard as possible to make up for the damage she has done.

He added:

> The teacher is an adult and she is qualified. She has been employed as a professional. I'm not going to tell her anything.

Other areas of strain among the staff. Our data suggest some additional problem areas which cannot be elaborated in this report because of limitations in time and space. They include: the exposure of strains in intra-staff relationships to the parents and its consequences; the problems arising from racial differences within the staff and between the staff and parents; lack of followup of parents and newly introduced programs; and the relationship between the center and delegate agency (the staff complained of insufficient contact with and "harassment" by the delegate agency).

III. Participation of the Indigenous Population as Salaried Subprofessionals and as Volunteers

In spirit and in fact the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 stressed the participation of the "indigenous" population of the communities in which its various antipoverty programs were to be carried on. The use of indigenous people in addition to "external caretakers" in alleviating the difficulties of the poor has a history going back several decades. The use of the indigenous population in the Head Start program has included the employment of individuals in the local community as subprofessionals in a variety of job categories and the use of others on a volunteer basis. In this section, an attempt will be made to: (1) briefly describe the salaried members of the Center One staff who are of the indigenous population with respect to their background, recruitment and training, and; (2) elaborate on the problems of internal organizational development that have emerged as a result of using these people both as salaried workers and nonsalaried volunteers and participants in the center.

1. Salaried Indigenous Staff

Before we describe this group and discuss its problems, some comments need to be made about the term "indigenous" as applied in the context of the Head Start program. Indigenous workers are usually thought to be members of the specific group being served by the anti-poverty project, or people of the same (poverty) class and ethnicity from the neighborhood or community. Our observations suggest that in practice workers may be accepted as "indigenous" if they have simply the socioeconomic and ethnic/racial qualifications. It seems likely that the sponsoring agencies find it impractical to look for their aides within the relatively small group of Head Start parents and they may not have the local contacts through which to find them in the neighborhood. Agencies whose connections extend throughout the city might logically consider the entire city as the pool from which to draw people with the requisite qualifications and talent.

Background, recruitment and training of the salaried "indigenous" subprofessional staff. The salaried indigenous subprofessional staff at Center One includes: two teacher aides, one family assistant, two family workers and a food aide. Comments here are limited to the first three categories. A member of the delegate agency staff mentioned that all the individuals in these categories were born and raised in the neighborhood; however, we know that at least one of these individuals is from a small town in upstate New York. At least two others were born and educated in the South although they have spent some part of their adult life in the neighborhood. All members of the subprofessional staff are high school graduates. Of the five individuals on whom we have information, three have some college training, two of these are currently pursuing college studies, and the third is now attending a business school. Their prior work experience is varied. It includes work in other community action agencies and programs and in other jobs such as teacher-helper, nurse's aide, waitress, interviewer for survey research organizations, and postal employee. One of the family workers was a welfare recipient before being hired. The same individual had one and a half years of college in the South and is now in business school at night.

The indigenous workers have received both formal and informal training. The family workers and teacher aides at Center One have participated in two formal training programs. One, conducted at New York University for the city-wide Head Start organization, included lectures, field work, visits to agencies and other Head Start centers. This training usually took place after the family worker or teacher aide had worked in this position for a while. During their absence for training, their positions were filled by parents. One family worker who had taken the course made the following comments about it:

> Yes, that is an eight-week course that I took in April and May of this year. The teacher aides worked in other agencies during their training period, but the family workers and family assistants do not do that. We made many visits to different Head Start centers and different service agencies. We went to the Mobilization for Youth center and some other centers on the East Side and the Bronx. We also went to the Welfare Department, to the Legal Aid Society and the Juvenile Court....(The training program consisted of) mostly discussion, but we did have lectures from people on the staff and visiting professors on poverty and welfare. There were social science courses and sociology courses. Some of it was irrevelant (sic) but especially some of the lectures were good. They dispelled myths about people on welfare and about black people and it's a good thing when this is done. People think that everyone on welfare likes it and is happy to be on welfare, and of course this isn't true. We talked about our field experiences, and related to each other. We had worked in different areas so we talked about that. We would set up dramatizations of situations where one person would be the family worker and another the parent, and then we would criticize

> the way the situation, acted out, had been handled. It helped us to get to understand ourselves.

In October, 1967, the same family worker advised one of the researchers that there had recently been an all-day conference at New York University attended by people who had taken the inservice training course there. At this meeting, the former students discussed the assets and limitations of the course in the light of their subsequent experiences on the job.

Another formal training program was held at the delegate agency's office once weekly last winter. This program was conducted by an instructor from New York University and was designed to provide inservice training on a continuing basis after the staff member returned from the course at New York University. The program was discontinued. One family worker described this training program in the following way:

> At first, we gave case presentations, showing how we had proceeded so far. For example, the R case -- despite all we had done, the parents still hadn't brought the child back. The group was supposed to give their solutions. Usually they came up with no solutions or else what we had already tried. We took that trip to _____ (an experimental educational program sponsored by a local college). That was good. There were speakers -- I don't remember who they were -- it (the training) was nothing.

Another training program that might be considered formal in nature was the Child Development Discussion Group attended by some staff members and parents. These were conducted at the home of the director of the delegate agency by a member of the faculty of one of the city colleges. At two of the three meetings of this group observed by the research staff, there was a teacher-director and a teacher aide from Center One present. The program of the meetings included movies on Head Start projects around the country, discussions of math and science concepts, and demonstration and implementation projects that could be done with children to enhance their cognitive and social development.

By informal training, we mean those prior and current experiences of the indigenous subprofessional staff that are non-academic in nature, but which they (the staff) felt were beneficial in preparing them to perform their assigned duties at the center. The male family worker mentioned how his job as a letter carrier enhanced his understanding of people, which certainly has aided him in working with parents and others in his current position:

> I worked for the Post Office as a letter carrier and that's really public relations work. You meet many people in this work. I have always said that the cop and the letter carrier have more contact with people on the street than anyone else. People talk to you, where they wouldn't talk to their neighbors. It gives you insight into people.

A teacher aide has drawn many ideas for creative class art projects from her own experience as a mother of six. She remarked that with six children one has to be creative to keep them busy. Another family worker thought that living in the ghetto herself provides training for doing her current job:

> The only thing I go by is my personal insight and my experience. I sit down and work things out on my own. I read a few things that I think will be helpful, but you don't have to read very much when you were born and raised in poverty as I was. I didn't need and need and need, but I knew people who did. I understand what the parents are going through and yet I try not to let my personal feelings get involved. But I tell the parents what I think the normal and best thing to do is.

Problem areas in internal organization related to salaried indigenous subprofessional workers. Preliminary analysis suggests the following problem areas:

a. Mobility. Much job mobility has occurred at the center level. For example, one of the family workers was previously a teacher aide and just recently was transferred to another center to become a family assistant (which involved a salary increment and promotion); one of the teacher aides had previously been a family worker at the center. Also, there has been mobility to positions outside the Head Start project. Mobility is not limited to the subprofessional staff, of course. For example, mention has already been made of the fact that the two teacher-directors at Center One resigned in September, 1967. During this year at the delegate agency, there was a change in educational directors and the nurse resigned, leaving the position vacant. These facts are relevant to the internal functioning of the center because the change in educational directors involved changes in policy and procedures at the center level. The resignation of the nurse pushed additional duties upon the social worker at the delegate agency, thereby decreasing the amount of time she could spend supervising the social service programs at the center level. With respect to promotions and transfers of the subprofessional workers, the situation is somewhat paradoxical: the goals of Project Head Start include raising the aspirational level of its indigenous participants; however, an increase in aspirations and its consequences in terms of mobility interfere with smooth organizational functioning.

As part of the anti-poverty program, Head Start is also committed to encouraging its workers and parents to prepare themselves for new occupations and careers; but the aspirations stimulated may be frustrated by the educational requirements of the occupation. The two teacher aides and a family worker at Center One would like to become teachers, but that they might acquire the educational credentials seems improbable.

b. Professional marginality. The current attempt to incorporate nonprofessionals into traditional professions as "aides" or "assistants" has been geared to freeing the professional from clerical and other duties in order to allow him to devote more energy to strictly professional duties. It also represents an attempt to provide job opportunities in humanitarian service occupations for people with little formal education. However, preliminary analysis of the data suggests some problems that result from this attempt. We have subsumed these problems under the heading "professional marginality." For example, one teacher-director expressed in the following way the problems of a teacher aide who is a part of the teaching staff, but who is not a teacher in terms of the client population's conception of what a teacher is:

> You know she's (the teacher aide) not a teacher, in terms of the qualifications....Yet, she's a teacher in the classroom. And there is that status thing too, in the neighborhood. You know (the parents) could say to N (the teacher aide), "Well, you're not a teacher, so why do you come and visit my house like you were a teacher...." But to come into the home as the teacher, you know, sometimes the teacher aides are in a position that is difficult because they are supposed to be the teacher and yet they aren't really the teacher and it puts them in a spot more than it does anybody else....

The male family worker at Center One defined his position as a "nonprofessional social worker." Although not articulated by him, his statement suggests the marginality of the indigenous workers on the social service staff.

c. Role confusion among the salaried indigenous subprofessional workers. Many of this group are not only members of the staff, but also parents of children in other Head Start centers sponsored by the delegate agency. For example, the new family worker and one of the parents at

Center One both have children enrolled in other programs. This dual role may limit their participation as parents in Head Start. That is, because of their job commitments, they would not be able to participate in some parent activities, for example, PTA meetings, at the centers where they are parents. In addition, it suggests potential conflict in their role as staff members: the family worker at times appears more as a parent than as a staff member. At a meeting of the psychologist and parents, she participated as parent, elaborating on her problems with her son in Head Start and requesting the psychologist's advice in solving them. At another center, during a discussion of parents' problems with the public schools, it was hard to distinguish between the family staff and the parents. The family staff reported their difficulties with the public schools as parents and became as emotionally aroused as many of the parents over their unhappy experiences with these institutions. Granted that this dual role facilitates rapport, empathy, etc., it may also inhibit the guidance and supervisory function of the individual as a staff member and present a distorted view of the role of the staff to parents. While the mutuality of experiences between the staff members and the parents will enhance communication between the two in the discussion of an issue and in the formulation of action directed against it, the emotional involvement of the staff member as a parent may preclude the objectivity needed for good judgment and careful planning.

d. *Attitudes of the workers towards the target area and its population.* Preliminary analysis also suggests another problem area unforeseen by the advocates of the use of indigenous personnel. One of the basic assumptions underlying this practice is that because these people are familiar with the neighborhood and its residents, they would not experience some of the problems of rapport nor have the negative attitudes that outsiders would. Preliminary analysis suggests that this assumption needs refinement and modification. For example, fear of the neighborhood is a common feeling among those from outside the ghetto. One teacher-director at Center One, in discussing why the family workers went with her on home visits, made this fear quite explicit: "I preferred it because most of the parents knew Mr. I (the family worker)...and I didn't like going into some of the neighborhoods." However, members of the indigenous staff share this reservation. The social worker at the delegate agency said to one of the research staff: "Our family workers were born and raised in the neighborhood and only three of them will go alone into these streets." A teacher aide who had been a family worker said: "I got the job as family worker, which I didn't care for, because I didn't care for going into apartment houses (and) buildings." We see that this problem of fear of the neighborhood is just as real for some indigenous workers as it is for professionals from outside the area. The fear may be justified by some of the conditions that exist in the neighborhood. However, as the educational background of these indigenous workers indicates, they may be considered middle class or at least upwardly-mobile members of the lower class. Because of this, they may be partially alienated from and feel threatened by the ghetto and may exaggerate its dangers. The social class position of these workers may also imply the presence of other negative attitudes towards the target population. Although it has not been observed at Center One, the director of another Head Start center reported negative attitudes on the part of her indigenous family staff towards the parents.

They felt that the parents should be able to pull themselves up by their "bootstraps" as they themselves had done.

Parents as volunteers and as active participants in the internal organizational development of the center: associated problems. Although we have ample evidence attesting to the positive consequences of the Head Start effort to have parents play an active role in the life of its centers, this section will focus on the problems affecting internal organizational development that arise from this effort, as suggested by a preliminary analysis of existing data. (In our final report, we shall extensively discuss the positive consequences.)

Parents are encouraged to participate at the center in many ways. With regard to its educational program for children, parents observe in the classroom, help on a regular volunteer basis in the classroom, and assist with the children on trips. The program of parent activities includes the PTA, a variety of classes and projects for self-improvement socially and economically, provision of services to meet existing problems of the parents, and a concerted effort to stimulate the parents to act on their own behalf.

a. Classroom observation. As observers in the classroom, it appears that some parents may need more training in observation and interpretation of classroom activity than they now receive in order to prevent their distortion of what they observe. As evidenced by the comment made by one parent to the family assistant mentioned above (p. 22), many parents feel that children are only "playing" and "doing art" in these classes, and fail to see any educational component in such activity. In addition, parental emphasis on academic development rather than social development inhibits the parents' understanding of what is taking place in the classroom. It seems necessary to explain to many parents the "what" and "why" of classroom activity if their role as observers is to contribute to their meaningful involvement in and understanding of their child's education.

In the role of observer, the parent may have a deleterious effect on her child's adjustment in the classroom. Observations and staff comments indicate that often the presence of the parent encourages dependency on the part of the child, and permits the parent to use threats and other negative techniques on the child to encourage obedience and participation in the classroom. This neutralizes the teacher's efforts to handle the child in a potentially more effective manner. This issue also points up the need of providing the parent with some orientation to the role of classroom observer.

b. Providing assistance with children on trips. The staff attempts to involve parents actively in the center by requesting parents to assist with the children on trips, but such volunteer assistance appears to be highly undependable. Arrangements were made this summer to take the children to the circus, but they were unable to go because not enough parents turned up to accompany them. One of the teacher aides mentions this same problem:

> I have asked a few (parents to come in and help) and they have promised, but I'm waiting, still waiting....They have promised but I haven't seen them.

A teacher-director also comments:

> I think that's really what Head Start wanted, to have a parent. But it hasn't always worked out that well. It would be very helpful, but it hasn't

> worked out to the point where you can always depend on the parents. It's on a voluntary basis and if she has a family and she's just volunteering, you can't depend on her, so she isn't responsible.

c. Consequences of motivation for self-improvement. One of the goals of Project Head Start with respect to parents is stimulating their personal and social development. When the effort to stimulate motivation succeeds, and provision is made or sought to implement such motivation, one of the consequences is less participation in parent activities. That is, in the attainment of one Head Start goal, attainment of another may be sacrificed. Two examples may be cited from Center One. One active mother became involved in a job training program as a result of the efforts of members of the Head Start staff. Subsequently, she started regular employment and was no longer able to participate much in parent activities. Another very active parent leader recently entered a job training program, further depleting the parent organization's leadership pool.

d. Regular volunteer work. Volunteer work as traditionally conceived is usually done by those who are not in need of the funds that would be derived from a salaried job. However, when the volunteers are from the lower-income group in the population who could use additional funds, such work on a regular basis has problematic implications. First, the question arises of paying the parent who contributes three or four hours daily to classroom work because of the teacher shortage when the parent could use additional income. Project Head Start does not permit paying such parents unless the absent staff member has exhausted her sick leave quota. In addition, such regular participation often results in an increase in the parent's aspirational level. That is, she may feel, as a result of her classroom experience, that she would like to become a teacher aide or a teacher.

e. Group action initiated by the parents. Encouraging the poor to initiate action on their own behalf is a focal point in the "War on Poverty" effort. If such an effort is to be effective and not lead to the reinforcement of apathy and a sense of powerlessness among the poor, some provision must be made to educate them with regard to the bureaucratic intricacies of our society. An example from Center One will illustrate this problem. With the resignation of the two certified teachers in September, and the assumption of full responsibility for educational program by the teacher aides, parents became more involved in this program as regular volunteers in the classroom. In October, the parents petitioned the delegate agency to retain the teacher aides as teacher-directors and not to bring into the center a new certified teacher who would be superordinate to the teacher aides. (A copy of this petition is attached at the end of this section.) The resolution of this issue involves state regulations beyond the control of the delegate agency and not known to the parents probably because of their socioeconomic position or because of the general ignorance on the part of most laymen of bureaucratic requirements. One of the regulations to which Head Start centers in New York are subject states that there must be a certified teacher in each classroom.

Another problem suggested with regard to group action initiated by parents involves parents' confusion over the indigenous staff's role in action initiated by them (the parents). With regard to the petition, parents requested active staff participation, e.g., obtaining parents' signatures. A staff member explained to them that the function of the staff was to provide guidance, but not to actively participate in this action of their own choosing. This problem may be exacerbated by role confusion among the indigenous staff as discussed above.

Petition from (Center One A) Parents Concerning Retention of Teacher Aides as Teacher Directors

1. We, the parents of (Center One A),* hereby petition to have our teacher aide, Mrs. _____, established in the position of teacher director. We feel she is the most qualified to fulfill this job.

2. We have observed her work in the classroom, which reflects a very warm relationship with the children.

3. Since Mrs. _____ has been in charge of the children, in the absence of the teacher director, there has been a tremendous acceleration in the teaching of the children. We have seen great improvement in our children's performance during the past three weeks. Mrs. _____ also uses her skills to encourage parent participation in a meaningful way.

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*The identical petition (except for the name of the teacher aide) was circulated by Center One B.

CENTER TWO

The social service staff consists of a full-time white social worker whose training is in psychiatric casework, a part-time Negro social worker who is trained in group work, a Negro family assistant with a college background and two Negro and one Puerto Rican family workers with a high school education.

I. Social Worker

The social worker sees the social work role in Head Start as involving generic social work skills, that is, casework, group work and community organization. Although, ideally, the Head Start program, to fulfill its goals, requires a generic social worker, social work training programs produce social workers specialized in one area of social work practice. Thus the social worker felt that she needed a consultant who could provide help to her in those areas of social work practice in which she was deficient.

Her aims were threefold: (1) to train family staff particularly with respect to dealing with problems of parents involving contacts with such bureaucratic organizations as the Department of Welfare and the City Housing Authority; (2) to consult with parents about the emotional problems of their children; (3) to organize the parents for group action. While she stated that family staff should be able to handle bureaucracy and help the parents learn how to handle it, she herself confessed to a feeling of failure in her own attempts at dealing with bureaucracies to help relieve client needs.

She furthermore thought that the parents were not amenable to help with personality and emotional problems of their children. Thus, she felt that her training in psychiatric casework was to a great extent irrelevant to the work which she was able to do and that her training did not prepare her for dealing with a disadvantaged population or for organizing parents for group action. She perceived a serious mismatching between her skills on the one hand and the needs of the program and the kind of population served on the other.

She also thought that the social worker's role in Head Start should include observing in the classroom and providing guidance to teachers with respect to the emotional and behavioral problems of the children. This she was not allowed to do.

Since the job was both demanding (requiring skills which she did not possess) and yielded little satisfaction (not permitting her to exercise skills which she did possess), she left the center after four months of employment. Her grievances also centered on working conditions: the lack of space for interviewing in privacy and the length of the working day (her reference group was the teachers in the center who left an hour earlier when the children were dismissed), and the lack of fringe benefits (her reference group consisted of social work professionals who usually enjoy these benefits in whatever setting they are working).

II. Social Service Aides

The social service aides include a family assistant and three family workers. The family assistant is expected to provide direct supervision of the family workers and she is the channel through which the overall supervision of the social worker is exercised.

In actual practice, her chief area of supervision of workers is the checking of children's attendance. The family assistant gets a list from teachers of the children who have been absent for more than three days and asks the family workers who are assigned to these families to pay home visits, find out the reasons for the absences and the date when the children will come back to the center and report back their findings to the teachers.

Outside of this area of differentiation of roles, the family assistant and family workers have a similar role. The components of this role are the following:

1. The Vital Base of the Organization: Securing and Retaining Members

Recruitment of children and parents to the program. This is done by home visits to families living within a prescribed area to determine which have children within the Head Start age range and to persuade those defined as living in poverty to send their children to the center. The parents of the children accepted into the program are similarly persuaded to participate in parent activities through a followup formal social work interview at the center.

Sustaining participation of members in the program. For the children this is done by checking attendance and making home visits to find out reasons for non-attendance and reporting to the teachers; and by providing escort service if a mother is ill and cannot bring in or pick up her child. Sustaining parent participation is done by socializing with parents and making them feel welcome at the center, setting up notices of meetings, and letting parents know about meetings by word of mouth.

2. Enhancing the Health Status of Participants

Making sure that medical and dental services are provided for the children is done in the following ways:

a. Helping mothers to fill out Medicaid applications.

b. Seeing that children are registered at a clinic and given regular examinations and laboratory tests.

c. Enrolling them in the dental program at a local clinic.

d. Giving out names of doctors and dentists who accept children receiving Medicaid.

e. Making available to parents pamphlets on health.

3. Enhancing the Individual Welfare Status of Families

The social service staff provide advice and help to parents with respect to home-management problems, e.g., how to shop on a limited budget. They also act as advocates of or brokers for individual parents, i.e., as mediators and facilitators in their relations with government and private bureaucratic organizations. They may do this by contacting the Department of Welfare or City Housing Authority to elicit or speed up action on client demands, or by escorting non-English-speaking parents and children to a hospital and acting as interpreters.

4. Organizing Parents for Group Action

The social service staff act as guides or advisors to groups of parents who are organizing to press their demands for better schools, a cleaner neighborhood, etc.

5. Enhancing Teacher-Parent Communication

The social service staff here take the role of mediating teacher-parent relations at the center by setting up parent-teacher conferences at the request of either party.

6. Miscellaneous

Other role components include providing babysitting services at the center for the period of time between when children are dismissed from class and parents pick them up, and helping in the kitchen and the classroom when the cook or teacher is absent.

The social service staff all express satisfaction with their work, save one family worker who takes exception to such tasks as babysitting and escort service, which are not providing her with a "learning experience": "A family worker should be an aide to the social worker. Many jobs are not a learning experience for me because I've done it for my own children."

The staff also take pride in their accomplishments, particularly with respect to stimulating the growth of parent activities and clubs. The family workers think that their training and experience have prepared them adequately to handle their manifold tasks. The family assistant, on the other hand, thinks that she does not have the "know-how" to mediate adequately the relations between clients and bureaucracy and she turns to the social worker, who she feels has the training and the "pull" to perform this task better than she. Since the social worker often felt that she was not able to secure action on client demands, it would seem that the higher one goes in the social service hierarchy, the less feeling of competency prevails in the ability to mediate client-bureaucratic relations.

The social service aides are very concerned about not overstepping the boundaries of their role. Commenting on the barring of social service staff from access to social work records, one family worker says: "We wouldn't want to know if we're not supposed to because sometimes it's not too good to know too much."

When the social worker was on the point of leaving the center and she did not have the chance to put the part-time assistant social worker abreast of matters pertaining to the registration of children, she asked the social service aides to transmit the information. This they refused to do because "it looks like you're taking authority" and "the director is the boss," and "she has the last say on everything."

Another instance where family staff showed concern over overstepping the boundaries of their role was in the matter of elections for officers of the parent association. The social work consultant advised the social service aides to take an active role in setting up an election committee, advising the committee members and discussing the duties of the new officers with them, but the aides claimed that the elections were not in their hands, that they were being managed by the administration. The family assistant commented: "Everything was ready. There was nothing we could do about changing it." A family worker said: "You still have a boss....We take a back seat. We follow the leaders."

Playing a well-defined and limited role may well have been an emphasis of inservice training. One worker, commenting on what she had learned through training, said:

> I learned how to get back to the center and not let the director know how smart you are and she'll fire you.... This is what the instructors told us. The director might feel we were trying to get her job and tell her what to do. You can't go back to the director and tell her you should do this and that or she says she has no use for you.

III. Relations between Social Service Aides and the Social Worker

The social worker supervises the social service aides directly and indirectly: indirectly, by making suggestions to the family assistant, who channels them to the family workers, and directly, by scheduling conferences with each worker one hour per week.

In publicly evaluating her aides, the social worker has stated that they have matured considerably and become more professional over the four-month period that she has been associated with them. Nonetheless, in private, she has been critical of them in various respects:

a. Problems of supervision. Social service aides do not always act on the recommendations of the social worker.

b. Problems of professionalization. Social work aides are reluctant to formally put into writing the contacts they have with parents; they are reluctant to attend staff meetings.

c. General job orientation. "They're supposed to come in on time in the morning and not sit two hours drinking coffee."

d. Specific role performance. Social service aides use techniques disapproved of by the social work profession:

> Social workers are trained to be polite and not to get angry -- they mustn't call names or ridicule their clients....The family workers are prone to use this approach. They do gentle teasing; they call it "dishing" -- it's a Negro term. They say, "How come your house isn't clean!"....Or the worker says, "Your kid needs changing. Take him home."

It should be noted that the social worker was ambivalent toward this approach rather than outspokenly critical. She said that she "was shocked by some of the things family workers did with parents but that they worked." She, however, could not use such a technique because the parents "wouldn't speak to me ever again. I'm white and a professional."

On the basis of our observations, we have documented the validity of the first criticism with respect to a specific issue. Two social service aides have disregarded the recommendations of both the social worker and the social work consultant with respect to the advisability of organizing parents to push their demands for better education in a local public school. We also have evidence that at least one aide is reluctant to attend meetings of any kind, whether within the center or outside, because "I find it pretty boring at times." We have observed that the aides come late and leave the center early. That they sit around drinking coffee can be interpreted as a natural accompaniment of one of their role prescriptions, which is to socialize with parents. We have no evidence for the fourth point of criticism.

The social worker's opinions of her staff's performance were embodied in a written evaluation submitted to the administrator of the center. They were sufficiently negative in tone to have surprised the social work consultant, who expressed his feeling of "shock" to the social service aides. He was dismayed by the discrepancy between the social worker's publicly laudatory attitude toward the aides and her official evaluation of them. At least one aide stated that she was not surprised, for she had always distrusted the social worker: "It was bad faith. I suspected it all along, while she was here. I knew it." Whether this was a long-standing attitude or a rationalization is difficult to determine. On another prior occasion the same aide publicly told the social worker that she had learned a great deal from her.

IV. The Issue of Professionalism: Professionals and Subprofessionals

In evaluating the utilization of indigenous persons as social work aides, the social worker pointed out the usefulness of indigenous workers in performing tasks not requiring professional skills:

> Indigenous workers do what they're supposed to do: to bridge the gap. The functions conceived by Head Start are best fulfilled by nonprofessionals. It's a waste of time and money to have more than one or two professional social workers. Many of the things done a nonprofessional is capable of performing with training. It doesn't require six years of college. They are often better at meeting people at their own level than a professional social worker would be....You don't need an MSW to deal with Welfare; you don't need an MSW to teach someone how to shop properly or how to be a better homemaker. She needs to get along with people and all family workers have this.

At the same time, the social worker expects the social service aides to become "more professional" in the course of their association with her, and criticizes them for specific instances of nonprofessional behavior (see preceding section on Relations between the Social Service Aides and the Social Worker).

The attitude of indigenous workers toward professionals is expressed by one family worker as follows:

> Some professionals tend to look down their noses to you.... Professionals are not born professionals....I find professionals think you can't compete with them knowledge-wise. Many of them feel they know all the answers because they have studied and have more knowledge. They are not willing to realize experience is the best teacher. Sometimes you

> can't practice what you're taught. You have to use your own judgment about many things.

Yet, in specific instances social service aides turn to the social worker for help:

> If problems get too great and I don't think I could handle it, I would go to the social worker....At times with Housing or Welfare or maybe medical, something came up I don't understand. I would get a better understanding from my superior. I find out before giving the information to a parent to make sure it's correct information.

While there is a basic appreciation by the social worker of the valuable contributions made by indigenous workers, coupled with a criticism of their nonprofessional performance, there seems to be on the part of the indigenous worker a basic rejection of the professional's greater expertise based on formal training, accompanied by a willingness to turn to the professional for help with specific problems.

Not all professionals hold indigenous workers in contempt. According to one family worker, "Some of them are just people." In other words, their qualities as human beings are perceived as having primacy over their status as professionals.

This primacy of personal over occupational characteristics also affects the indigenous workers' self-perception in their roles. Willingness to be of service, helping parents with their problems, "letting them know you're interested in them for themselves" are stressed. With respect to making home visits, a worker said:

> You can't go in as a professional: you go in as yourself. You let the parents know that you're not putting on, that you're leveling with them. Don't pretend to be something you're not.

In their attitude toward their work, family workers appear to de-emphasize the formal occupational aspects, such as getting paid and doing a job. They stress the human desire to help people: "What you do for parents is not for money but because of a want to do. We try to show them this is something to do because you want to do, not because you're paid." Another worker pointed out:

> I do work that the average social worker would be doing, but I consider it part of everyday living. You'd help any neighbor or member of your family if they need it. To give service to someone who needs it isn't a job. It's part of life. It doesn't require extra effort for me to do it.

One of the two family workers who were interviewed devalues the formal knowledge component of her work. Experience in the ordinary course of life is what counts and she stresses what indigenous workers and parents have in common. In answer to the question, "What of your previous experience have you found to be most helpful in your work here?" she responded, "The role of the housewife. It helps you understand other mothers and housewives, children." With respect to what she had learned in a two-month inservice training course, this family worker said, "I didn't get anything out of it that I didn't know before." She qualified her answer as follows: "I learned something, but not too much I didn't know before -- just about OEO. I know the culture of the Negro. I learned about Puerto Ricans."

The other family worker thought that inservice training qualified her to understand the financial benefits and services welfare recipients are entitled to and to cope with problems parents experienced in dealing with the Department of Welfare.

Both family workers were receptive to once-weekly inservice training provided by a social work consultant who specializes in group work and advises them on how to organize the parents for group action.

We conclude that there is great ambivalence about professionals and the acquisition of formal knowledge. The indigenous workers want respect from professionals and are saying that "fundamentally we are equal: professionals are not born professionals and our experience is a match for their greater formal training." At the same time, they grudgingly admire the professional's greater training, as when one of the family workers advises parents to talk more often to the teacher, for "she has four years of schooling more." They also point out that they regret having been obliged to interrupt their own education and speak of plans to resume it in the future.

While the social worker would like to "upgrade" the performance of indigenous workers to make it more "professional," the indigenous workers resist professionalization and would like to see the behavior of the professionals "de-professionalized." Each status occupant attempts to assimilate the role of the other to the perception of his own role.

V. Relations between Social Service Aides

According to the family assistant, the social service staff share information, experiences and ideas among themselves, "so each knows what's going on" and "so if one leaves Head Start, the others can carry on, so we are not at a complete loss." But, according to at least one family worker, all information which staff members have is not freely communicated, particularly the information which the family assistant possesses. "There are things which the family assistant knows and family workers are not supposed to know....The family assistant shares what she's supposed to share. Some things she can't." The family worker was not explicit about the matters on which knowledge is monopolized by the family assistant.

Although she claimed that family workers "share what pertain to the families," this is doubtful since she also stated that if a problem arises with a family and the worker who is assigned to work with that family is absent, another worker does not substitute for her but rather the social worker consults the social work record of the family and handles the problem.

The same family worker, reflecting on her role and that of the family assistant, saw them as essentially similar, but pointed out the differential in pay:

> The jobs of family assistant and family worker are basically the same. The difference is in the pay.... They're doing the same things. I think there are no educational requirements except to be a high school graduate....Maybe the family assistant knows more what's happening at the center; she confers more with the director.

This statement was based both on her observations of role similarities at the center and her own previous experience as a family assistant at another center where she was performing tasks similar to those she is now carrying out as family worker.

VI. Relations between the Teaching and Social Service Staffs

We have not yet interviewed teachers, so our comments will be brief and confined to the perspectives on communication between teaching staff and social service staff.

The contacts of social service aides with teachers are limited to the checking of children's attendance and communication to teachers of the reasons for children's absences. Also, in cases where there is no direct teacher-parent contact, social service aides may foster communication by setting up individual parent-teacher conferences or by setting up an appointment for a parent to observe in the classroom.

One family worker evaluates teachers as follows: "I have good contacts with them. They're nice and capable. I don't see any faults. The job they've done is wonderful." Another family worker says, "I don't relate to teachers, really. If one of my families wants a conference with the teacher, I can set up a date and time, but otherwise I don't relate to teachers."

The social worker points out that there is not enough communication between the educational and social service components of the program and that teachers are in a particularly isolated position since very little information is transmitted to them by social service staff and, furthermore, they have few conferences with parents and make no home visits. There have been occasional staff conferences whose purpose is to share information among the entire staff on all aspects of the center's program. The social worker evaluates these staff conferences as follows:

> The staff meetings have not fulfilled the purpose for which they were set up. They were devoid of any real information. Also, there was resistance on the part of staff to go because they are after hours for most staff members.

VII. Relations between the Social Service Staff and the Director

The social worker has noted that the director is performing a task which is ideally within the social worker's sphere of competence, namely, observing in the classroom and consulting with teachers about the emotional and behavioral problems of the children.

The social work consultant has pointed out that the director has taken over the administration of the election of officers for the parent association, which should have been managed by the social service aides jointly with the parents. The social service aides evidently were buffeted between contradictory demands for active involvement in the election on the part of the social work consultant and passivity on the part of the director.

The social work consultant, evaluating the relationship between the director and the social service aides, perceives the director as being overcontrolling and not trusting and valuing sufficiently the social service aides. This is confirmed by comments made by a family worker who feels that the director expresses distrust of the staff by attempting "to know everything that's going on" and to find out "everything they're saying" when staff members get together to talk.

B. HEAD START PROGRAM OF ORGANIZING PARENTS FOR GROUP ACTION

CENTER ONE

Head Start can be viewed as a training ground for the parents, preparing them to take active roles in such organizations as PTA's and community action groups. At Center One, the PTA and its various projects and classes for adults are activities in which such training could occur through the organizational experiences they provide.

In the following sections attention is focused not only on the various parent groups and projects but also on the strategies used by the staff in gaining participation and in training parents, and the problems faced in doing so. A description of parent groups and projects is followed by a discussion of recruitment procedures and efforts; psychological and cultural difficulties of the lower class inhibiting participation in organizational activities; organizational problems affecting parent participation; the role of the staff and outside resource people as teachers and advisers of organization; and the problem of involving the man of the family.

I. Parent Groups and Projects

During the period of our observations at Center One the following parent groups and major projects have existed: Parent Teacher's Association (PTA), Welfare Mothers' Club, Wholesale Buying Club, Adult Education Class, Typing Class, Sewing Class, Open House, and playground project. We have attended meetings or planning sessions of all of these groups and activities. In this section we shall describe briefly their emergence and development.[2]

1. Parent Teachers' Association

The PTA is viewed by the staff as the centralizing and coordinating agency for all parent activities. All parents are welcomed to join and there are no dues. Since July its regular meetings have been held once a month, but during the summer many additional meetings were called primarily in order to plan the use of the special summer parent activity fund.[3] The twelve meetings held between July 13 and November 13 which we observed were attended by an average of 9.5 parents. (Thirteen meetings took place during this period.) A core group of from six to eight mothers attended almost every meeting; a total of 34 parents attended at least one, and they included 30 mothers and four fathers. There are approximately 60 children enrolled in the two classrooms, so that the mothers attending at least one meeting represent about half of their total number. Until October, meetings were held at 12:30 p.m. in order to be convenient for all parents, i.e., those who were picking up their children from the morning classes and those who were bringing them to the afternoon classes. However, meetings are now held at 2:00 p.m. one day a month at the request of the delegate agency. The PTA is at present the only parent organization with elected officers. They are the chairman, co-chairman, secretary and treasurer.

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[2] The members of the family staff are referred to by their initials: CL, family assistant; FI, female family worker; DI, male family worker.

Meetings are conducted along formal parliamentary procedural lines, with minutes and committee and project reports presented at the beginning of each meeting. Committee chairmen and members are appointed by the chairman at meetings. Staff and parents raise issues and make suggestions for action. All decisions for action are voted on by the members.

In February, CL said to one of the research staff that the staff had found that there were too many activities: the welfare mothers met once a

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3. This fund was set up by OEO for parent activities at centers in New York City only. It consisted of a sum for each center equivalent to $3.00 per month per child, for the period between June 1 and September 30, 1967. Staff members were first instructed in its use at the end of May and at the middle of July the center received a check in the amount of $720.00.

week; the Wholesale Buying Club did meet once a week and at that time was meeting every other week; the adult education class met three days during the week; and there had been three sessions for all mothers with a nutritionist from the Board of Health. The staff encouraged the mothers to participate in only one activity. However, CL said, they all belong to the PTA. She went on to say that the PTA used to meet once every two weeks, but as of the end of February it was meeting only when there was a "general question" to be discussed.

From CL's remarks it is not clear if the frequency of meetings had been burdensome for the staff and/or for the parents. Her statements are our only evidence of dissatisfaction on this account. Later during the field work, when she was asked why the Welfare Mothers' Club had stopped meeting, CL said, "There has been a lot of change in the structure of the parent activities, and I think this has strengthened the group. Now activities are centralized through the PTA. Before there were relatively separate groups."

2. Welfare Mothers' Club

This club was in existence when we began the research at Center One. It met only twice, in February, and there were four mothers present at each meeting. CL had said that about one-third of the approximately 60 families at the center were welfare clients and, therefore, the mothers at the meetings represented about 20 per cent of this group. The meetings were attended by the social services director from the delegate agency and her assistant, in addition to the family staff of the center.

Discussion at the meetings was focused on obtaining maximum benefits for which the mothers were eligible. Staff and parents seemed to assume that only by special efforts could funds the welfare client was legitimately entitled to be obtained. The staff gave significant assistance to the mothers by contacting the caseworker or the supervisor directly. Thus specific complaints, such as getting a questioned utilities bill paid, or obtaining winter clothing for children, were settled in the mothers' favor.

Another tactic employed by the staff was using the Welfare Department's own "minimum standards" forms. These forms listed all the clothing, furniture, housekeeping items, etc., that welfare clients were supposed to have. None of the mothers had all the items listed and the staff helped each person to complete the forms, indicating what she did not have. The forms were submitted to the Welfare Department, which was then theoretically obligated to bring the families "up to standard." The staff also gave the mothers flyers to post in their buildings; the flyers invited people to join the club. This indicates that the club was not intended to be limited to Head Start mothers.

The staff was quite militant in its support of the parents' right to make demands of the Welfare Department for their legitimate rights. The following excerpt from field notes of CL's remarks to the mothers at one meeting illustrated this:

> ...we must be brave, we must not be afraid. You cannot be put off of welfare because you protest. The mothers must speak for themselves...you have paid taxes, this welfare is coming out of your own pocket and you deserve to have it.

The staff had also encouraged affiliation with a city-wide welfare mothers' group.

Replying to questions asked by a member of the research staff about why the club had stopped meeting, the family staff referred to the need to centralize activities and to reduce the number of meetings to attend, as mentioned above. DI raised another, more psychologically oriented reason:

> ...we used to have a Welfare Club, but now people come in on an individual basis and we help them in filling out forms, for example. I think this is better. It was more or less like a segregated thing before.... It was like a caste system.

It is possible that the poor attendance at the meetings may also have been a factor in the discontinuation of the club, but we have no evidence that this was a consideration by the staff. However, a complaint made by the social services director to the club members about how some mothers do not return to the club after they have been helped by the staff, does indicate dissatisfaction on the part of the staff.

3. Wholesale Buying Club

This group was organized in December 1966. In recounting its history, CL said that parents had indicated concern over the high prices and poor quality of foodstuff in their neighborhood. The parents were interested in "forcing merchants" to improve these conditions. CL referred to the "community dynamics" that this situation involved.

When the club was first organized it worked with two other centers. One withdrew soon after the project was begun. CL said that the groups became "center conscious," each wanting to organize the club in a different way. Center One and the second center held a joint fund-raising dinner but later discontinued working together. CL said that the other center had wanted to buy food directly from wholesale dealers, while Center One preferred to purchase from an established food cooperative. The two centers divided the profits from the dinner; the amount came to $12.30 each and this was the balance of the club's treasury when we first visited the center in February.

The February meeting of the club was the only one held during our work at the center. Sixteen people were present, including three men. This represented better than average total attendance and above average attendance by men. At this meeting orders for food were placed by the parents for the first time. It was the only occasion on which this took place, and only rice and sugar were actually purchased. As was mentioned previously, the parents' inability to pay for the food in advance resulted in severely limiting fulfillment of the goals of the club.

In addition to the difficulties involved in paying for food items before receiving them, there was another potential problem which was pointed out by one of the fathers. He thought that many parents would be disappointed when they learned that they could not get every item they had ordered because items could be purchased by the club only if orders amounted to a full case. This father was of the opinion that orders should have been tabulated during the meeting at which they were ordered so that the parents would know right away which items they would not receive.

By July the club was being administered by the advisory board of the delegate agency. During the period when we had very little contact with parent activities at Center One, the only activity of the group had been the distribution of the few food items purchased. The advisory board recommended that all of the centers join together to form a buying club, and in July the PTA voted to do this. In late August, at the last summer meeting of the PTA, a committee was appointed to see the director of the delegate agency about the club. This committee did not report back to the PTA. The topic of the club was not raised again until the middle of September when a parent asked CL what stage of organization the Wholesale Buying Club was in. CL replied that at this point the decisions were still in the hands of the advisory board and that Center One could not act until the board had. She reminded the group that it had already approved of an all-center club and there was no further discussion. The club was not mentioned again until the next month when the members were discussing use of the proceeds of book sales, amounting to $40.00. FI suggested adding the money to the treasury of the Wholesale Buying Club. One of the mothers commented that it did not look as if they were going to "start back on the club" and there was no further discussion.

There had been considerable initial interest in the Wholesale Buying Club. When funds became available through the special summer parent activity fund, one alternative for their use could have been adding a certain amount of money to the treasury of the club. This alternative was never suggested. Perhaps the parents had lost interest because of inaction by the advisory board, or because they felt the problems of financing and organization were too great.

4. Adult Education Class

This class was held three mornings per week in the basement meeting room of the center and was attended by from ten to fifteen women. Basic English and mathematics were the principal subjects taught. The teacher had formerly taught adults for the Board of Education. CL said that at first the course had been financed by the Board of Education, but it withdraws funds once two hundred hours of classroom time have elapsed. The Board's funding had supported approximately the first five months of the class. Subsequently CL tried using volunteers but had found them unreliable. She had sought funds elsewhere and eventually the city Head Start office agreed to pay the salary of a teacher from March until the end of the summer. The class was discontinued in August. Members of the class wanted to continue with high school level courses but funds were not found to do so. CL had sought assistance from the Board of Education but learned that it did not pay the salaries of teachers of high school level classes in community organization settings.

Describing the genesis of the adult education class, CL said:

> One of the first things I saw when I first came here was to find out what the parents really wanted. The first thing they said was, we want jobs, we want training, we want to get off of welfare. I think that this is important for the overall picture of these families. This is fundamental -- that is, finding work -- to the problem that exists in many homes. A person needs a skill, they need to complete high school. And especially our men, they are frustrated. When they come back home without a job, this can lead to problems between husband and wife. So we asked what kind of work do you want to do, and many said they wanted to be secretaries. However, the realistic situation is that they don't have a background in math and English. So we set up the adult education course and it went through the eighth grade because that was the level that many of the parents needed. Now we need to carry on with high school equivalency training.

Nevertheless, there was difficulty in starting the class, according to CL. She said that at first it had been a problem to find people to enroll in the course. The staff had recruited practically from the street, approaching people who were "sitting idly" on the stoops or standing on the corner.

Partly as a consequence of the recruitment procedure just described, not all of the members of the class were Head Start mothers. CL said that the class represented a "cross-section" of the community and she elaborated on this to the extent of saying that some participants were elderly and some young. Our observations confirm this; the age range seemed to be from the early twenties to the sixties, with most in the twenties and thirties age group.

CL named several goals of the adult education class: to prepare people to take civil service examinations, employment aptitude tests and the high school equivalency test. We do not know if any of the students did go on to take and pass these tests. If instruction was limited to elementary school levels, as CL said, such examinations might have been too difficult for the students. The teacher of the class organized several trips for its members. They included a visit to the Metropolitan Museum, a boat excursion around Manhattan, and attendance at Radio City Music Hall. We had very little contact with her and so did not learn what she conceived of as the purposes of these experiences.

5. Open House

In May each center held an open house for parents and the community. The classrooms were open all week to visitors and on one day there was a program put on by the children. Their program was followed by statements by the director of the delegate agency and some of the parents. After the program lunch was served in the basement meeting room. There were between 100 and 150 people present and the event was regarded as a distinct success. (We attended the open house but, as was mentioned previously, we had few contacts with parent activities during the period in which it was being planned.)

The open house had required a great deal of planning by the staff and parents. The parents played an essential part on the day of the program. Some served as hostesses in the classrooms and in the meeting room. Others helped with the luncheon. Books were sold by the mothers in the classrooms. Commenting on sources of strength for the parents' group, CL referred to the open house:

> Another source of strength, I think, was the open house. That brought the parents together, working on different committees, and they felt that this was their project,

> that they were actually having something for the community.... While working on the open house, they decided that they wanted to have their own school colors.

6. Sewing Class

This project was begun in August, when the PTA voted to spend part of the special summer parent activity fund on the purchase of four sewing machines. Committees were formed to gather information on the equipment and to find a place for the class to be held. The minister of the host church asked for additional rent for the storage and use of the machines in the meeting room. The amount requested was beyond the resources of the group and they considered it unreasonable. The PTA members resented the minister's action because they did not think that the church would be inconvenienced in any way by their using the machines in the meeting room, which the center occupied during the day anyway. This situation was resolved in November through a discussion between the minister and the director of the delegate agency. The former agreed to allowing the PTA to keep the sewing machines in the meeting room, but not the typewriters. CL did not know what agreement had been reached with regard to the rent; in any case the PTA had not been asked to pay an increased amount. (Rent is paid directly to the host church by the delegate agency.)

The delegate agency pays for the instructor of the class. She spoke to the PTA at a meeting in October and talked very enthusiastically about how useful knowing how to sew could be to them. She said that they would start with those who do not know how to thread a needle. Besides learning sewing techniques, they would learn about different fabrics and pattern usage. She said that department stores and cleaners need people to do alterations. She thought of the class being a way for some of its members to become directed toward work as designers, drapers, or even opening their own "boutiques." "The sky is the limit," she said. One of the mothers responded saying that it is wonderful when you find that you can do something yourself.

7. Typing Class

The PTA also voted to purchase typewriters with part of the money in the special fund. In September a committee was appointed to investigate the purchase of machines, and three used typewriters were bought the following month. They are being kept in the home of the chairman of the PTA because there is no other place for them. CL and FI instruct interested mothers in their use two afternoons during the week. At each of the first three sessions there were two mothers present.

FI had expressed interest in a typing class for the parents when she was interviewed in July and it was she who suggested it at a PTA meeting in September. At that meeting CL asked each of the eight mothers present how she felt about the suggestion and three said they would be interested in learning how to type. An exchange then occurred between the secretary of the group, Mrs. H, and the family staff, that raised the perennial question of group representation. The following excerpt from the field notes paraphrases this exchange:

> Mrs. H: It seems to me that every time we want to decide something, there are just a handful of people here. At other times there have been twice as many mothers present. CL: Right. But today we have a nucleus of parents, and this nucleus represents a consensus. The consensus here is pretty good, and this is the way we will have to work it. (CL spoke in a conciliatory but firm manner.) FI: It is true that the other parents are not here, but in this country you need as much training as possible and your decision affects all of the parents coming after you.

CL then remarked that she thought it was a worthwhile project if there were five interested ladies and she asked how many were in favor of it. All of the mothers raised their hands and the chairman went on to appoint a committee to investigate the purchase of the typewriters. In this incident the family staff took a very directive role and CL superceded the authority of the chairman, since the decision to buy the typewriters was not introduced nor voted on as a motion.

8. Playground Project

The playground project was introduced in mid-September. There is an empty lot owned by the church in which the center is housed, and adjacent to it. The PTA contemplated constructing a playground in the lot. The project was discussed and investigated for the next month and a half.

While the playground was being planned, there was considerable enthusiasm about it. An architect, invited by CL, spoke to the PTA about planning their project. He was very enthusiastic about it, and stressed that they should try to raise money in their own community before turning to government agencies or foundations. After he spoke to the group they planned what they would want in the playground and where they would want the various equipment to be placed. On another occasion the family staff spoke to a Parks Department representative, who made many suggestions. The field supervisor from the city Head Start office was very enthusiastic about the project and came to a meeting of the PTA to speak to them about it. She brought the film, "Chance for Change," because of its sequence about a playground constructed by Head Start parents. CL obtained brochures of equipment. One of the parents visited a playground with CL and reported on it to the PTA, using a rough diagram to illustrate her report. The PTA voted to use the last $200.00 of the special summer parent activity fund for the playground, and the parents expressed their willingness to volunteer their labor.

However, the project was dropped by mutual agreement of the mothers. They felt that the minister's prior insistence on their paying the increased rent for keeping and using the new equipment for the sewing and typing classes in the meeting room was indicative of an uncooperative attitude on his part. Consequently, they hesitated to plan a project that would involve the use of church property.

9. Other Activities

The PTA has also planned and carried out several other projects and activities. The mothers held Christmas and Halloween parties for the children, and a farewell luncheon for DI, who has transferred to another center. Efforts were made to have the teacher aides assigned as teachers. The parents also sent a telegram to the Board of Education during the teachers' strike in September, stating their position on the dispute. There is a standing committee that works on a monthly newsletter published by all of the centers of the delegate agency. A center-wide advisory committee was organized by the delegate agency and three mothers were appointed to it by the PTA. During the recent crisis in Congressional funding of Head Start the parents collected signatures calling for the passage of the anti-poverty bill and some parents attended city-wide meetings in connection with this effort.

The most concrete results of the parents' own action have occurred through activities associated with utilization of the special fund. However, it is probable that a few of the leading parents gained valuable experience in planning and organization, and added to their knowledge of their own and the larger community through their activities in connection with the Wholesale Buying Club and the playground project, even though both of these projects failed to get beyond planning stages. It is also possible that such failures may contribute to feelings of powerlessness and futility in the rank and file members.

Parent activities involve women in the large majority. Participation represents a small proportion of the total parent population, but those who take part in the various projects form a loyal and active group. An overview of the parent clubs and activities at Center One indicates a variety of pursuits, which are largely aimed at improving the economic circumstances of the parents. Another focus is on the center itself, as exhibited in the planning of the Open House, parties for the children, and the playground project.

II. Recruitment Procedures and Efforts

The family staff has principal responsibility for recruiting parents to attend meetings of the PTA and to participate in other organized activities. During the registration procedure, which is conducted by a member of the family staff, parents are told about opportunities to participate in the activities of the center. In answer to the research staff member's question to CL concerning what she tells the parents about why they should attend PTA meetings, she replied:

> First I tell them what the issue at this particular time is, for example, of a sewing club that is being established, and I talk about events of the past, things that have been done like the Open House or the Wholesale Buying Club. And if there is a host of programs, then I run down the list of them. and I tell them that they could participate in whichever activity they are interested in. Just to say the PTA...well, that's no good, but an elaboration of what it does is a good thing to talk about.

Other tactics aimed at recruiting parents, which we have observed, are: (1) the posting of announcements of meetings of the PTA and other clubs and groups outside of the classrooms, where parents will see them when they bring and pick up their children; and (2) the sending of notices home with the children about PTA meetings. At a PTA meeting attended by the field adviser of the city Head Start office, she very enthusiastically suggested that each of the eight mothers present undertake to contact a certain number of parents who never or very infrequently attended PTA meetings. As far as we know, this suggestion was not followed through.

III. Psychological and Cultural Difficulties of the Lower Class Inhibiting Participation in Organizational Activity

Low-income groups have repeatedly been described as being characterized by feelings of powerlessness and futility with respect to their ability to improve their personal lives and environment. These feelings may contribute to "indifference to and disengagement from any affairs beyond the person or a small circle of friends and family," as one author remarks.[4] He goes on to say that this attitude can be seen in all strata of American society, but that it is exaggerated amongst slum dwellers. Since Project Head Start is aimed at low-income families, many of whom live in slum neighborhoods, it is necessary to consider psychological and cultural factors that may affect the participation of families in parent activities. We have not systematically investigated this subject at Center One, and we have been in contact only with those parents who do participate in the parent program. Thus we cannot yet say why some parents have not joined center activities, nor why others are active.[5] However, some comments made by staff members are relevant to this concern, and they are referred to below.

Various situational-personal factors may affect parents' participation in center activities. For example, one of the possible reasons for mothers not attending meetings is that different commitments may compete for their time and attention. CL referred to this in the following comment: "...perhaps they are involved in things they must do like apartment hunting. Of course some of them work..." On the other hand, she went on to point out parents such as:

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[4] David R. Hunter, The Slums: Challenge and Response, The Free Press, New York, 1964, p. 73.

[5] However, it can be pointed out that if those parents who do participate have feelings of powerlessness and futility toward efforts to change their situation, these feelings have not prevented them from engaging in parent activities.

> ...Mrs. H., who is the secretary (of the PTA), works every night, but she comes to the meetings. However, she has only one child. Another parent who works at night has seven children, and she still comes when she can.

CL's remarks make the point that despite the presence of seemingly inhibiting conditions, some parents do attend. She seems to be implying that the strength of these impediments is relative to the parent's interest. However, care of children was mentioned specifically by DI as a reason preventing mothers from attending meetings. He remarked:

> Of course I understand that those mothers with several children find it hard to participate -- maybe they would more if there was someone at home to help with the children.

Another reason cited by CL was related to more personal matters of the mothers. She said, "...the ones who don't come are usually burdened down with personal problems. They are depressed. They don't feel like bothering to come to a meeting..."

DI may have touched on a more profound obstacle to participation in remarks he made during an interview:

> Here in this area, there is an immediacy, an immediacy of problems. You speak to them and they'll say I've heard that before. You've got to show them something, here and now. Why should they come and sit for two or three hours. Everybody knows what's wrong and there are no results. But when the parents can see something done, then some of them may come for a little while, but some of them don't come back ....the parents ask why, what for; we must have something to show them, something that they can see will benefit themselves and their community. We just have to keep trying.

It might be supposed that in a population that included both recipients and non-recipients of public welfare, the former might subtly be assigned a lower status by the latter. This could operate to make parents who are welfare recipients feel unwelcome in parent activities. However, CL has said that one half of the active parents are welfare clients and this is larger than the proportion they form of the total center population. The only indication we have of negative feelings toward welfare recipients are the reports of teachers that some new parents have asked them if any of the children are from welfare families. The new parents were not pleased when they received an affirmative answer. (We do not know if they became active in parent functions.) In addition, it is possible that the very limited participation in and the eventual demise of the Welfare Mothers' Club (described in the section on parent groups and projects) was related to reluctance on the part of parents to distinguish themselves so openly as welfare recipients.

In appearance the welfare clients are not distinguished from non-clients: all of the mothers who attend PTA meetings are well-dressed. It is possible that some mothers, for various reasons, cannot maintain such an appearance and might therefore be discouraged from taking part in center activities. However, we have no evidence for these speculations. We have only once seen a mother whose appearance was shabby, when she came to the center to confer with CL.

Most of the parents have had very limited experience in voluntary organizations, as for example, in knowledge of parliamentary procedure. The family staff have established it as a standard and gradually the officers have come to use it. The only times when it has been a "problem" during meetings have been when a member, Mrs. I, who knows the correct procedure, has called attention to mistakes and has irritated the chairman because of her insistent manner. Other tentative evidence of this limited experience is that most of the members seem shy about speaking during meetings, and when they do they make very brief statements.

The very limited economic circumstances of the parents may operate to restrict the experiences they can have, even within the scope of activities that are suggested from time to time in the course of their meetings. For example, the Wholesale Buying Club suffered in its development because it was necessary for items to be paid for a week before they were delivered to the parents, and the families did not have the resources to pay in advance.

Two members of the delegate agency staff have expressed opinions about values of the mothers. They said that some of the mothers at Center One and other centers are particularly eager to plan social affairs. The field notes of a conversation on this subject between the social services director and the education director, both of whom are Negro women, and a member of the research staff read as follows:

> We discussed how happy some of the parents seemed to be about the proposed dance and how their eyes lit up and how they offered to sell tickets. Mrs. N (the social services director) said that they seemed to be very interested in social affairs and that parents at various centers were always trying to plan social affairs, and there was a great emphasis on having parties....Mrs. Y (the education director) said that they could dig up three dollars for a dance but they can't find carfare to go to _____ Hospital. (At a meeting with the staff of the delegate agency, the family staff of Center One had mentioned that some of the mothers could not afford the carfare to accompany their children on visits to the hospital arranged by the center.)

These comments were made in a disapproving tone. The parents were being charged with frivolous pleasure seeking and a lack of serious interest in the welfare of their children or in their own self-improvement.

It is worth noting that these disapproving remarks came from the educated, middle-class officials of the agency and that no comparable attitudes towards "social functions" were expressed by any of the local or indigenous workers. In fact, the first project carried out with the special summer parent activity fund was a family excursion to a state park and beach; and there had been several other sociable occasions, including a theater party and visits to the center of the city, during the course of the year. It seems likely that such affairs have a special value for slum dwellers, if it is true, as is often said, that slum life breeds distrust, isolation and loneliness. Welfare clients especially may feel deprived because they have so little money for entertainment. It might also be observed that, perhaps because deprived of other forms of group action and achievement, the Negro community has traditionally given great prominence to social affairs held by clubs, church groups, sororities and fraternities, etc. Reports of such events are a prominent feature of newspapers such as The Amsterdam News. In short, sociability, a necessary element in all organizations, may be an especially important element in an organization of the Negro poor.

IV. Organizational Problems which Affect Parent Participation

1. Lack of Autonomy of the Parent Organization

The staff must cope with directives from the delegate agency and from "downtown," the city Head Start office. Thus, both staff and parents must adapt to conditions that sometimes chafe and seem arbitrary -- especially directives from the delegate agency. For example, the agency very recently decided that PTA meetings must be held at all the centers on the second Monday of each month between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. (The delegate agency had introduced this policy so that it could plan its own schedule for attending PTA meetings more efficiently.) At the second such meeting, one of the members suggested that they begin at 1:00 p.m. instead of 2:00 p.m. because then those attending could get home earlier, which is especially important if they have older children in school. There was general approval of this suggestion. However, CL said such a change would have to be approved by the delegate agency. Her remark was met with expressions of irritation on the part of the mothers. One of the unplanned consequences of the new policy may be that teachers can now attend meetings. On the day they are held the classrooms are closed so that the teachers (and family staff) can meet with the staff of the delegate agency and also have conferences with parents. In the past, the teachers rarely attended PTA meetings, ostensibly because it was difficult for them to leave the classroom. It should be pointed out, however, that increased teacher attendance was not the focus of the delegate agency's policy. The introduction of the policy stemmed rather from the needs of the delegate agency staff.

In another instance, the advisory board of the delegate agency has for several months been considering a club for wholesale buying of foodstuff, in which membership would be open to all of the centers. Center One had been one of the initiators of the idea of such a club. (This was described in detail in the previous section on parent groups and projects.) Now it can take no action until the advisory board does. It is possible that such delays result in loss of interest and perhaps in reducing feelings of power and autonomy.

One of the conditions associated with the use of the special summer parent activity fund was that any expenditure over $24.99 had to be approved "downtown," and several times the family staff and some parents reminded the PTA of this. Another condition was that all of the funds had to be spent by September 30. This resulted in some pressure in the case of the purchase of the sewing machines and typewriters, because the group had difficulty in finding a place to store and use the equipment. The resolution was to purchase the items and to store them at the office of the delegate agency, and then to continue the search for a permanent place for them. These purchases were a matter of concern to the delegate agency because the administrative assistant expected that "downtown" would want to see the records of the center and would discover that all the money had not been spent by the deadline.

The careful planning needed to best utilize the money provided by the special fund may have been somewhat curtailed by this pressure. But it is also possible that the deadline prompted an efficient organization of the parents' activities. Initially there had been few suggestions for the use of the fund. However, by the end of August decisions had been made for its allocation and committees worked diligently investigating the best purchases. It was then that serious difficulties were encountered in acquiring space for the new equipment.

2. Mobility of Parents

Another problem is related to the mobility of the parents. In this connection, Head Start faces a situation that public schools are not as likely to confront. Many children are in the center for only one year and so there may be few interested parents with experience valuable to the PTA remaining beyond the year. On the other hand, those families who have younger children and who enroll them, can maintain their association even when their older child leaves the center. We have observed that the core group of parents who attended most PTA meetings in the summer and fall were also present during the preceding spring. We have not yet learned the nature of their continuing affiliation with Head Start. Some parents are lost by residential mobility. A few parents have simply dropped out of the PTA, including the co-chairman. However, both types of events have occurred infrequently. They are problems confronted by all voluntary organizations.

3. Staff Mobility

Another problem is the high rate of turnover of staff members. This is likely to be disrupting to the parent program insofar as it is important that parents and staff get to know each other and staff members learn to work with each other. There was considerable turnover in the family staff before we began working at the center. Between April 1966, when the center opened, and the following September there had been four different family workers for one of the classrooms. The other classroom had had two family workers since the center opened. However, the family assistant has been the same person since the beginning. We do not know the reasons for the change-over, except in the case of the most recent, which took place about a month ago. DI was promoted to the position of family assistant at another center. We have limited evidence concerning the effects of this staff mobility. On one occasion, one of the teachers said that she thought the other teacher had found the changes disrupting. Recently, after a teacher aide left the staff, a parent complained about the mobility of the teaching staff. She said that she didn't think it was good for the children to have so many changes in teachers.

4. Children's Presence at Meetings

There usually are from five to ten children present during the meetings. They make a considerable amount of noise so that it is often difficult to hear what is being said. There has been no provision made for the care of the children during the meetings. However, a few unsuccessful attempts have been made to cope with the situation, such as sending the older ones to the classrooms. Only on one occasion was the difficulty resolved when a teacher aide attended the children in one corner of the meeting room. However, we have heard complaints from parents and staff about the noise on only two occasions. It is possible that the noise level is not conceived of as a problem, or perhaps the mothers feel that nothing can be done about it anyway. Perhaps they feel it would be discourteous to complain.

5. Staff Conflict

There is evidence of conflict between the teaching and family staffs and this is dealt with in another part of this report. We wonder if and to what extent it may affect the organizing and participation of the parents, but we have no evidence to answer these questions. There is evidence of disagreement on one occasion between the family staff and the adult education teacher. The latter asked the PTA to cover the cost of a boat excursion her class had already taken. She thought the money could come from the special summer parent activity fund, and she said that the administrative assistant of the delegate agency was in favor of this procedure. CL and DI expostulated that according to the guidelines, the group must vote on every expenditure. Later, DI said that he admired the teacher for trying to get all she could for her parents, but it was up to the PTA parents to decide on the use of the special fund. (Only a few of the members of the adult education class were Head Start mothers.)

Conflicts occur between the family staff and the delegate agency, and we may ask again if these have any effect on the staff's activities with parents. Again we have no evidence of effects but we can cite an example of felt disagreement between a family staff member and a member of the staff of the delegate agency. Recently the agency added a parent activities coordinator to its staff, a Negro woman in her 50's. She spoke at a PTA meeting about various programs she could bring to their meetings. One of them was having a local caterer talk to the parents about opportunities in catering. She said that he was willing to conduct classes on how to serve at parties and dinners. The coordinator said that the caterer's clients were people like the Roosevelts and Kennedys and so to work for him would mean being in nice, beautiful homes and seeing how nice people behave. After the meeting FI voiced her reaction to the coordinator's statement to one of the research staff members. The field notes read:

> FI fumed over the statements of the coordinator, saying that these mothers know how nice people act because they are nice people. She also disapproved of training them for work as servants. In addition, she thought that the parents had enough to do during their meetings and did not need the programs the coordinator wanted to introduce. FI said that the director (of the delegate agency) had recently expressed interest in training the mothers for homemaking so that they could be domestic servants. She was shocked by this suggestion.

It is possible that FI's reactions may affect the extent to which she is willing to cooperate with the staff of the delegate agency.

V. Role of Staff and Outside Resource Persons as Advisers and Teachers of Organization

There are various levels of staff involved in this aspect of parent work. The center staff has the most frequent contact with the parents, but on occasion the staff of the delegate agency has direct contact with the parents, when they make suggestions, give advice and provide information. At other times their advice or directives are relayed through the center staff. The field adviser also offers advice and information when she visits the center. Outside resource persons may be called upon to provide specialized information.

1. Giving Instructions and Advice

Often specific instructions regarding organization for a specific project or some other action are given by staff members. Sometimes they offer advice on a problem being discussed. However, the distinction between specific instructions and advice may be a subtle one, resting in part as much on the manner and context in which the statement is made as on the phrasing of the statement. We have not examined how individual parents perceive the advice and instructions of the staff, but the actions of the PTA usually follow them.

Examples of suggestions made by staff members, that may be interpreted as specific instructions, occurred when the PTA was discussing plans for a family trip to a state park. DI enumerated the information the parents would need, for example, how much the buses would cost and how many passengers there would be. He also stated that everyone should bring his own food, and in answer to a question about bringing others, he replied that they should bring their husbands or boyfriends. He said that they would be defeating their purpose if they invited too many guests. CL also told the group that someone had to "be right there (at the classrooms) holding the paper, instead of just posting it." This was in reference to a sign-up list for the trip. Another instance involved FI, the other family worker. An architect had spoken to the PTA about their plan to convert a vacant lot into a playground. As he concluded his talk, FI whispered a suggestion to the secretary to thank the speaker for coming.

On another occasion the mothers were discussing plans to clean up the lot for the playground. DI said that the contractor could perform that task much more easily than they could and suggested that they wait until they had talked to him. At another time he suggested that a group of ladies go to the minister of the host church and talk to him about lowering the rent he was asking for storage and use of the sewing machines and typewriters the PTA was planning to purchase. DI said that they should smile very nicely and show the minister that it was his civic duty to rent to them at a lower price. DI thought that maybe if a group of ladies went and smiled at the minister, they could convince him. At another meeting the mothers were discussing the subject of retaining the teacher aides as teachers. They did not want licensed teachers brought into the classrooms over the aides. DI said that if they were all agreed on this, they should call the delegate agency immediately and make an appointment to see the director.

The illustrations cited above involved only the center staff. However, the staff of the delegate agency is also an essential source of instructions and advice to the parents. The social services director and her assistant have the most direct contact with them through their occasional attendance at parent meetings. However, the administrative assistant may affect activities of the parents through suggestions and directives given to the family staff. For example, at a meeting of staffs of the center and the delegate agency, she said that she "prefers" that the parents keep the special summer parent activity fund in a savings account, rather than a checking account, because one center did not write any checks during one month and still had the expense of a three-dollar service charge to pay. Direct staff involvement with parents is illustrated by the following incident. TC, the assistant social worker, was present at a meeting of the PTA when the purchase of sewing machines was being discussed. CL said that a cabinet would be needed in which to store the machines, and she remarked that TC had a catalogue of storage cabinets. TC said she thought the group should have the cabinet before purchasing the machines. DI stressed the importance of finding a place for the cabinet before purchasing it. One of the mothers then joined the discussion to say that the very first question to be decided was where the sewing area was going to be -- at the center itself or in a storefront, which the delegate agency was considering renting for all of the centers. Both TC and the director of social services were closely involved in the Welfare Mothers' Club and in the action the PTA took on the teachers' strike, as advisers.

2. Providing Information

Staff members also have provided information on some issue or topic under discussion in parent meetings. When action on the teachers' strike was being considered, a question came up about the process of expelling a child from school. FI explained the procedure in detail. At another time, nominations were being sought for the center advisory board. When this was announced some of the mothers seemed puzzled about the functions of the board, and so CL explained them, at the suggestion of DI.

3. Giving Instructions on Parliamentary Procedure

Another way in which the staff play a teaching a role is by providing instruction regarding parliamentary procedure during the course of a meeting. For example, CL often prompts the chairman on when to ask for a motion or a vote. At one PTA meeting, a parent, Mrs. I, corrected the chairman on the way she was asking for a motion. FI consulted a book on parliamentary procedure and then whispered something to the chairman. This book is available to the parents; the chairman and secretary have consulted it.

4. Introducing Resource People

The staff have also provided resource people (and materials) with whom parents may consult regarding their projects. For example, the manager of a successful wholesale food-buying club had spoken to the advisory board of the delegate agency when it was considering setting up a similar club for all of the centers. He had been invited by a member of the delegate agency staff. And, as mentioned previously, the playground project had generated considerable contact with experts, who had been sought out by the family staff at Center One.

5. Encouraging Parents to Act Independently

Encouraging parents to act on their own, without staff participation, is another way in which the center staff act as teachers of organization. CL frequently remarks to them at meetings that they should do only what they want to do. A major project initiated by parents was a campaign to have the teacher aides promoted to the status of teacher. This was referred to in a previous section of this report. After the teachers for both of the classrooms had resigned at the end of the summer, the teacher aides had asked the parents to volunteer in the classrooms on a regular basis, in order to ease the shortage in staff. Six parents had responded and some said they had never realized before how very good the teacher aides were. After a short period of working in the classroom, one of the mothers told the others at a PTA meeting how very fine she thought the work of the aides was.

The initial discussion of this issue provides an example of the parents generating action, with the staff both indicating that they should act on their own, and offering advice at the same time. The topic was raised at a meeting by the chairman, who said that "the parents" don't want teachers brought in over the teacher aides. She and CL then asked each parent present what she thought and all agreed with the chairman's stand. Responding to a probing question FI asked the mothers, DI said that this was not something in which the family staff should be involved, and that they (the staff) should let the parents work on this situation. However, CL had called the delegate agency to make an appointment for the mothers with the director. Seeing the director had been DI's suggestion. The parents had adopted it and had wanted to meet with the director that day. He had not been in but the administrative assistant had said she would be glad to meet with the mothers. She suggested that they write a petition stating their demands and have it signed by center parents. After the meeting, four of the core group of mothers gathered to talk over how to proceed. They decided who would be in charge of getting signatures on the petition. They chose two parents among themselves for each classroom, and then the chairman said, "And let's have Mrs. I (FI) help in ______ (one of the classrooms) and C (CL) help us (in the other classroom)." CL smiled and asked what they had in mind. FI said that she did not think that it would be a good thing for staff members to solicit signatures because parents will think that the staff want them to sign and they might feel coerced. She added that it is also better in relation to the delegate agency that the staff were not involved. CL agreed with her but added that the staff was ready at any time to advise and consult with the parents.

VI. Problem of Involving the Man in the Family

1. Male Participation

The parent activities just described have actually been the activities of mothers. Out of the 13 meetings held between July 13 and November 13, only four were attended by male parents, and in each case by only one. The same father attended two meetings. In three of the four cases the father participated in discussion and in the fourth case he spoke with several of the staff members before and after the meeting. When the Wholesale Buying Club was being planned, at least three fathers had been involved. The family assistant said to the observer that husbands should have something to say where money was concerned. She said that some fathers had visited the cooperative supermarket from which the group had planned to purchase the food.

We have not systematically gathered information on fathers' participation in conferences with teachers. Our records indicate only one occasion when a father came to the center for a conference. We have been told that the family and teaching staffs visited the homes of the children in the fall and winter of 1966. In the future we should ask the staff what contacts they had with fathers during those visits. One of the teacher aides has mentioned that quite a few of the fathers bring their children to the center and we have also observed this. She also said, "We've had fathers that are just interested in the program. They just want to come in and see what it is all about." One of the teachers spoke of a father coming in to hang pictures during the Open House.

2. Attempts to Encourage Male Participation

Men who attend PTA meetings are given a "red carpet treatment" by the staff. For example, at one meeting attended by a father, he was warmly greeted when he arrived and at the close of the meeting the FI thanked him for coming and remarked that he came to meetings whenever he could. After the meeting the DI walked outdoors with him to explain the plan for the playground. DI, the male family worker, said that he always tries to get in an extra word with a father when one attends.

There have been no activities or projects that were geared specifically to attract male participation. However, recently the parent activities coordinator of the delegate agency offered the PTA a program on "handyman" activities, that is, instruction in making improvements in the home. She also raised the possibility of having an evening course on the same subject for all the centers. So far there has been no parent response to either suggestion and no one has pointed out its possible interest to men. On a visit to the center, the field supervisor stressed to DI the importance of getting men to participate in the parent program. She said that when she had been on the family staff of a center, men had been involved in the planning of programs from their beginning. She thought this was an important reason for men continuing to participate in parent activities.

The staff repeatedly remind the mothers that the PTA is not an all-female affair and it encourages them to involve their spouses in projects and social outings. For example, when the playground project was first raised, DI said that if they wanted to start on such a project, the ladies' "husbands and men" must assist in getting the project underway and carrying it out. He said that he was the only man around and he could not do it all alone. At a meeting the next month he reminded the mothers of this and they said they were going to get their husbands and friends to help. At the PTA meeting at which the architect spoke, FI said to him that they had thought of the playground project as something men and women

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coming together could do. "For example," she said, "we could mix cement if that were necessary. We could do it. The benches and chairs, perhaps, could be partly done by parents." On another occasion, when an outing was being planned, DI urged the mothers to bring their "husbands or boy friends."

3. Problem Areas

Low male attendance at parent activities of school-centered groups is by no means unique to Head Start, nor to low-income groups. However, in light of the current debate over the family role of the Negro male, his involvement in Head Start is of particular interest.

DI has said that there are few fathers at the center, so that it is hard to have a program for them. He said that they have some complete families, but "not a lot." His use of the terms "friends" and "boy friends," when addressing the mothers, was a practical recognition of this situation. He also said that after all, the program is for small children and it's hard to get fathers involved at that level. To the problems DI raises, we may add that when the father is present in the family, his work may prevent him from engaging in many of the meetings and activities, most of which are held during the day. In addition, there are few, if any, activities which are geared toward male interests. The newest programs are the typing and sewing classes and they would be of minimal interest to men, even if they could attend during the day. Opportunities to play the traditional male role are very few. Such an opportunity did come up when a father was elected treasurer of the group, thus putting into the hands of a man the responsibility for financial concerns. He had attended a PTA meeting while on vacation and it was arranged that his wife would assist him since he would not be able to attend many meetings. He has not attended any since the one in July when he was elected to office. DI has remarked that it is hard to get and keep fathers. They may come once or twice and then do not appear again. It is possible that men may feel overwhelmed by the preponderance of women at the meetings they do attend. CL has commented that it was very good for the children that one of the family workers was a man, because of the "problem with the Negro male image in poor ghetto neighborhoods." It may be concluded that the staff thinks the man of the family should be involved in the parent program, but they have not been able to develop activities to attract his participation.

CENTER TWO

I. Recruitment Procedures and Problems

The initial recruitment of parents to the parent association and committees is carried out as follows. In the words of the social worker:

> When the parent registers, the worker tells her about the parent activity program. When she comes in for a social work interview, a review is made of parent activities. When the parents bring the children to class, they are brought to the family room to introduce them to other parents and invite them to the meetings. Often, because the parents wait for the children, they will converse with other parents. For the Spanish mothers this is important because they are isolated, less able to talk with other people.

The initial recruitment effort thus centers around providing information about the parent program, inviting the new parents to meetings and introducing them to the other parents. This effort is followed by continuing attempts on the part of social service staff to inform parents of meetings by word of mouth and by notices.

The social service staff are aware that not all parents are reached by their recruitment efforts or participate regularly in parent programs. One family worker is reluctant to probe into reasons for non-participation and comments on her difficulties in reaching parents as follows:

> My problems are like if I contact the parents and ask them to attend meetings....I just try to reach parents. It's difficult to come up against some parents. You have to push them to do something.... Some parents didn't care or weren't interested....If they don't tell you (about the reasons for non-participation) I don't push them. I don't want to get into their business.

The family assistant states that "the parents have other things to do. They have small children at home. They always have an explanation why they can't come. Nothing you do can get them all."

About the minority of parents who attend some meetings, the social worker says:

> It's very difficult to get a turnout for any kind of meeting. Those who come come late. Those who come on time get tired of waiting and leave. The mothers who get involved don't work. They have a poor sense of time and are not faithful about attending meetings to which they have given their commitment. Sustaining interest is a major problem in the program. I have no answer to that.

Both the social worker and the family assistant believe that Spanish-speaking parents are underrepresented in the parent programs. How to achieve greater participation on the part of these parents is defined as a problem to which the social worker has no ready answer. Many of the Spanish-speaking parents are bilingual and can therefore readily understand and participate in the proceedings of a meeting. One family worker of Puerto Rican background is expected to interpret for non-bilingual parents, but she has never been observed to do so.

Our own observations show that over a one-month period, for a total number of eight meetings of the parent association and a variety of parent committees, 40% of the mothers with a child in the center have attended at least one meeting. Of the mothers who participated at least once in the parent program, 52% are Negro, 42% Spanish speaking and 6% white. On the basis of the ethnic proportions in the overall center population, these figures would indicate a slight overrepresentation of Negro parents and a corresponding underrepresentation of Spanish-speaking parents.

For the two meetings of the parent association, 15% of the entire parent body attended each meeting, but only 6% attended both meetings. The committees appear to have a shifting membership. Only two or three parents attended all meetings of their respective committees. An "active" group of parents was defined as having attended half or more of all meetings over a one-month period. It constitutes 12.5% of the entire parent body and is made up of four Negroes, four Spanish-speaking mothers, and two whites.

II. Psychological and Cultural Difficulties Inhibiting Participation in Organizational Activities

The following psychological or cultural factors may inhibit participation in organization:

a. School and community conditions may not be perceived as problematic, thus making participation in organization irrelevant. Thus, a mother says to a family worker who asks her how she feels about the schools: "I don't know much about the schools. This is my first time." (I.e., she had recently registered her child in public school and was not or not yet cognizant of problems.)

b. Some parents may not be aware that individual grievances can, through group discussion, be translated into collective demands and action. There may also be a preference for dealing with problems on an individual basis.

c. Lack of self-confidence, lack of assertiveness and passivity make it difficult for the individual to meet the requirements of participation in organization. Some parents who attend meetings may happen to be at the center when the meeting takes place; thus attendance may involve no planning and conscious decision making.

Passivity is also exemplified in the fear of expressing opinions which both social service staff and the social work consultant recognize as an impediment to effective organization. The social work consultant remarks to social service staff with respect to parent passivity about a specific school problem:

> You must do something. Parents have no reactions. You have to say: "Do you care about it; do you want to look into it?" You can't let them sit there passively. You got to push it forward, explore it. You have to stimulate them.

d. Alienation and a feeling of powerlessness generate fears of confrontation with the representatives of powerful bureaucratic organizations, such as the school system. Parents and family staff report prior unpleasant experiences such as having been kept waiting for an inordinate period of time, not having been permitted access to the classroom.

Responding to the social work consultant's assertion that disadvantaged people participate in organization to a lesser degree than do the affluent, the family assistant comments: "Middle-income people can go to schools. They're not kicked out. Poor people are not welcome. Middle income are not thrown out. Low-income people feel rejected. They feel reluctant to come in." The felt low status of parents is also indicated in the following remarks by a family worker:

> They don't recognize you as being parents. The social worker tells you what's best for your child. The teacher tells you what's best. I don't agree with that. Don't tell me what to do with my child. I am the woman who brought this child in the world and make it possible for you to have this job. Respect me.

e. Most parents lack time-consciousness. The social worker comments:

> It's very difficult to get a turnout for any kind of meeting. Those who come, come late. Those who come on time get tired of waiting and leave....They have a poor sense of time and are not faithful about attending meetings to which they have given their commitment.

f. Some parents may be disconcerted by the formal nature of organizational proceedings and they prefer to discuss their problems and grievances in informal get-togethers and conversations. Most meetings are rife with private exchanges of views and comments. During one meeting between parents and a local school teacher, some parents gathered outside the meeting room to discuss an important issue affecting the children who were attending that school.

g. The more activist parents may experience a loss of faith in the effectiveness of organization. One parent has been heard to remark that very little could be accomplished by the School Committee in view of the small number of parents who were actively involved. Some parents are also discouraged because organization has not been productive of social action. Several have expressed the opinion that there is a great deal of talk but that grievances are not consolidated and nothing is being done about them.

h. The language barrier acts as an impediment to participation for non-English-speaking parents. Although many Spanish-speaking parents understand English to some degree, they are unable to speak it fluently. The need for simultaneous interpretation at meetings was only recognized by the social service staff when a crisis affecting the survival of the center developed, which made it mandatory for the staff to try to reach all parents.

III. Role of Staff as Advisers and Teachers of Organization

Our observation of organizational efforts at the center over the course of two months, with an especially close followup of developments in two parent committees -- the School Committee and the Neighborhood Improvement Committee -- has shown that the role of social service staff can be examined from two points of view: their role in influencing the internal development of the organization, and their role in mediating between the organization and the external world. We are also interested in the perception by staff members of their role responsibilities to parents. In the following section, these three aspects will be discussed.

Role of the staff in influencing internal development. The social service aides (family assistant and family workers), as integral members of the parent committees, engage in the following kinds of behavior:

a. Providing leadership in the initiation and closing of meetings, in the conduct of elections, in the presentation of issues to be discussed and of alternative courses of action, and in the setting of limits to the actions which can profitably be undertaken at any particular time.

b. Supporting the parents' grievances by adding their own, relating anecdotes illustrating the grievances and providing evidence.

c. Instructing club officers in how to carry out their roles, such as telling the secretary what to write in her minutes of a meeting or telling the chairman when to adjourn. Yet the social service staff are reluctant to discuss with the officers the nature of their roles. One family worker comments: "We must explain to them their duties. I couldn't tell them....It was never discussed. No list of duties was made up."

d. Encouraging passive parents to express themselves. This technique is not always applied, as when, for instance, the chairman of a parent committee makes a whispered suggestion to the family worker, who then voices her suggestion for her.

e. Occasionally making decisions on actions to be undertaken without consultation with the parents. This behavior violates the social service staff's own norm of "we do what the parents want."

Role of the staff in mediating between the organization and the external world. The following observations relate to the role of the social service aides as mediators between parent committees and the outside world:

Observation a. A family worker invites a speaker from a community organization to a School Committee meeting to provide information about the school system and the rights of parents and to exhort them to translate their rights into action. From other evidence, we know that the family worker felt that her lack of knowledge about the school system had led to an impasse in her work with the School Committee with respect specifically to arranging for a meeting between the committee and local school officials. Thus the meeting at which a knowledgeable outside guest spoke provided a learning situation for the family worker and set the stage, along with suggestions made by the social work consultant, for renewed confidence and leadership of her committee.

Observation b. A family worker acts as an advocate of the Neighborhood Improvement Committee in presenting complaints of committee members to the management of the housing project in which they reside. She is only the initial spokesman, however, for during the course of the meeting the parents present other grievances. Similarly, at a mass parent meeting attended by a teacher from a local public school, a family worker leads the parents in formulating grievances about the school system.

Observation c. The social service aides act as a funnel through which suggestions are received on the kinds of attitudes which should be cultivated by parents in their relations with bureaucracies. Thus the social work consultant, in response to the social service staff's claim that parents trust teachers and that they "swallow a pack of lies," tells them: "You must develop distrust. If parents are still trusting, this is going to be phony. Develop distrust....If they're going to kiss the principal, you're wasting your time." The social service aides also receive suggestions from the social work consultant on ways of formulating demands, presenting grievances, etc.

Observation d. The social service aides do not encourage parents to work closely with or incorporate their groups into larger organizations which can more effectively put pressure on a variety of bureaucracies. For instance, the manager of the housing project in which most parents reside has repeatedly suggested that the center's Neighborhood Improvement Committee join forces with the project's tenant association to press their demands upon the City Housing Authority. The family worker assigned to the committee has disregarded this suggestion even though she knows that the tenant association is meeting with the housing management on exactly the same problems that the Neighborhood Improvement Committee has raised.

Observation e. In steering the School Committee's attack on school problems, two family workers have veered from continuing the dialogue which had been established between parents and teachers of one local public school to focusing attention on the conditions of another school which they feel are worse than those of the first. This decision was taken against the following background: (1) their immediate superior, the social worker, and the social work consultant made recommendations to concentrate attention on the first school; (2) the evidence in the form of published reading scores showed, as one parent correctly pointed out, that the performance of children was inferior in the first school to that of the second; (3) nonetheless, the family workers believed, probably on the basis of unpleasant personal experience with teachers at the second school, that conditions were worse there. The family workers could have built on the relationship already established between parents and teachers of the first school. Instead they chose to "start from scratch," so to speak, in another school where teachers were less receptive and cooperative. This raises the question of whether these family workers function more effectively or more comfortably in a climate of opposition and resistance wherein they can be militant. Or perhaps their experiences at the second school had been so unpleasant that they wanted to have the opportunity to exert pressure against the teachers there.

Role Perceptions of the staff. The social worker defines her role in the parent association as follows:

> I try to keep myself in an advisory capacity and let the parents provide leadership and initiative. I make suggestions for easier ways....I bring up things they wouldn't have thought. I apply what little I know of group work and community organization principles. Generally I follow my own intuition. I generally remind workers about setting up meetings and the need for publicity. I keep an eye and see that things get done because if we have a couple of flops parents won't get involved.

The social service aides have advisory and leadership functions. The family assistant helps the president lead the parent association meetings and each committee has a family worker assigned to it to advise the elected committee chairman. A division of labor is expected to prevail between social service aides with respect to committee assignments, but in practice, as the social work consultant has noted critically and we have observed, several social service aides may be working with any one committee.

One family worker defines her role with respect to organizing the parents for group action as follows:

> I am supposed to be the organizer, to get parents together to try to get them motivated to carry on for themselves. They're supposed to carry on the meeting and I am supposed to serve as a guide.... People need to be shown the way. You can only lead so far. If they're interested, they will take it up and carry on.

She has several times emphasized at meetings of the social service staff that family workers "are just aides or guides," that "parents should run this thing completely by themselves," that "parents should go fight (the school system) and do what I did, but I won't take them by the hand." The social worker has responded to these remarks by saying that the social service aides should take a more active role in motivating the parents to put pressure on the school system: "You got to push parents so they learn." Another family worker also takes exception to the notion of "pushing" parents and considers herself to be an "aide" or "guide":

> When we say that we mean don't push the parents, but try to encourage them. You can't take them by the hand; you can't do it for them. You can only advise them how it can be done, give suggestions and if they like them, give them a chance in expressing how they feel it could be carried out.

One family worker expresses her major aim for the parents in the following terms:

> I'd like to see the parents pick themselves up by their bootstraps so they don't need Head Start. Be leaders of their community and pass it on to their children so they can pass it on to their children

When her expectations and those of her co-workers for greater parent participation are not fulfilled and they are angry at the parents, according to the social worker, "they ventilate with me."

The social worker has explained that the family workers see no difference between themselves and the parents: "We came up the hard way. The parents are no different from us." But she noted that the workers are incipiently middle class and that the parents do not have the same "drive" as the workers.

The social work consultant is attempting to change the workers' attitudes toward the poor and welfare recipients, which he describes as contemptuous. He states:

> Family staff don't consider themselves the "poor poor." These people are self-directing. They were leaders in the community. That's why they got the jobs. The family staff says, "Let the parents do it on their own. They haven't got guts." The family workers feel disgust and contempt for the parents. It's a long-time thing to change this attitude. They have made it. Why can't other people make it?

IV. Recognition and Development of Leadership Capacity

The social worker defines leadership capacity as follows: A good parent leader is

> someone who commands the respect of other parents, someone responsible and honest, someone who has the ability to plan, to talk to people, and who has a reasonably good intelligence. It helps if she has imagination and time to put in to involve other people.

A family worker describes her conception of a good parent leader in these terms: "A person I feel that will stand up to anyone, that's not afraid, even a shy person, a person who wants to do it but had no opportunity to express themselves."

It is recognized that potential parent leaders may be timid and may need nurturing of their leadership abilities. According to the social worker:

> Many parents who did not have leadership experience are still shy and need encouragement in the organization as followers. As they become committee members they become comfortable with people and express their own ideas. A perfect example is Mrs. X. Two years ago she wouldn't dream of going to school, of becoming an officer of the PTA. She is now secretary or treasurer of the PTA and she is the driving force behind the Coop Committee. Through contact here and learning through experience she was able to develop her abilities. She started out as a follower.

The social worker also gave as an example of transition from followership to leadership behavior a Puerto Rican mother who, when she substituted for a family worker for two months, "made great gains." The social worker apparently feels that possession of a Spanish cultural background may be an impediment to the acquisition of leadership skills, for she comments:

> She is intelligent, articulate, with real leadership ability. It's unusual considering she's Spanish and not Negro. It takes a lot more drive for someone coming from a Spanish background. The culture is against a woman being aggressive.

Yet several Puerto Rican parents have recently assumed leadership roles in the parent clubs, including one mother described by the social worker as "much too dependent: she wants the Spanish-speaking family worker to go every place with her." This mother, encouraged by the social service aides, has assumed the chairmanship of two parent clubs. So far her activities have been limited to opening and adjourning meetings: she expresses her opinions privately to the family worker, who makes them public, and she allows the family worker to run meetings. She is at the initial stage of developing leadership behavior, wherein she has accepted the role of chairman because she would "enjoy the responsibility" and hopes that the experience she will acquire in this role will help her overcome her shyness and her self-perception as not being "a good talker."

The fact that this mother has accepted the chairmanship of two different clubs has been a matter of concern to the social work consultant, who believes that social service aides should aim at distributing the leadership of parent clubs among as many parents as possible. The social service aides, however, face serious problems in recruiting parents to leadership positions. The family worker assigned to the School Committee has been trying, without success, to induce one mother, described by the social worker as having "tremendous skills to provide to this organization -- she's a leader obviously and a thinking person" -- to assume the chairmanship. At a meeting of the Neighborhood Improvement Committee, when elections were held for the chairmanship, several nominations were offered and all but one were declined.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS OF RESEARCH

Of the several aspects of Head Start organization selected for attention earlier in the year, we expect to concentrate upon three during the next months -- the two described in this report (internal organization, and especially the relations between professional and subprofessional staff members; and the organization of parents for group action) and a third, the relations between parents and teachers. Two others will be treated only in passing: the effects of Head Start upon family life, and the effects of the Head Start program upon the public schools (especially as regards school-parent relations). Both of these subjects, we have concluded, would require extensive field work outside the centers themselves and would therefore require a larger staff than we have, or currently wish to develop.

With regard to the work in progress, we expect to begin interviewing parents connected with the centers, a step we have put off until we could be sure that we had the confidence of the staff, a group which at first is inclined to feel threatened by the prospect of our interviewing their clientele.

A third center will be added to the study soon, and others when we are satisfied that we are beginning to get diminishing returns from those under study.

During the next stage of its development, the work will become less restricted to description (as in the present report) and more concerned with the theoretical interpretation of the three substantive areas of the research.

HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

Progress Report of Research Studies
1966 to 1967
(Documents 1 - 6)

Document 3

AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO STUDYING NON-VERBAL REPRESENTATION IN YOUNG CHILDREN

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AN EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH TO STUDYING NON-VERBAL REPRESENTATION IN YOUNG CHILDREN

This summary constitutes an interim report on research in progress. The report is comprised of three parts: (I) statement of the problem, (2) initial phases of inquiry, (3) outline of study underway.

Statement of the Problem

An accumulating body of observation suggests that the disadvantaged child shows deficiencies in aspects of linguistic functioning. A considerable amount of research has been directed towards the delineation of phenomena, the identification of controlling variables, and the development of remedial techniques and programs. One question that has received relatively little attention in this context is that of the relation between verbal and non-verbal means of representing or symbolizing experience (see, however, Sigel, Anderson and Shapiro, 1966; Sigel and McBane, 1967). If one takes the view that non-verbal representation constitues an essential phase of aspect of total cognitive development (Piaget, 1962; Bruner, Oliver and Greenfield, 1966; Werner, 1948; and if, moreover, one contends that much language usage rests on a capacity for symbolic formulation which is more fundamental than speech itself (Werner and Kaplan, 1963), than one is led to ask whether some of the cognitive and linguistic difficulties of disadvantaged children may not be due to general difficulties in symbolic representation (not restricted to the sphere of language). Evidence indicating that (a) disadvantaged youngsters manifest more difficulties in non-verbal symbolization than do middle class children, and (b) there is a positive relationship between ability in non-verbal representation and conceptual language usage, would have theoretical implications regarding the possible basis of linguistic deficit and practical implications in the sphere of pre-school programs for the disadvantaged.

Initial Phases of Inquiry

The current research, which must be viewed as exploratory in nature, is directed towards developing means for gathering systematic data on non-verbal representation in young children. We have tried to develop tasks which can be assumed to involve non-verbal representational functional and that are not remote, in materials or required operations, from the everyday activities of pre-school children. At the same time, we have tried to develop groups of tasks that differ in the mode of representation (e.g. bodily gesture, pictorial representation) required. While it is not assumed that performance on such tasks is "language independent", the tasks do not require any verbalization on the part of the child and there seems adequate basis for supposing that the do not require explicitly linguistic operations. Tasks developed included those centering around: (a) the use of realistic and non-realistic materials in play situations, (b) the imitation of body gestures and object motions, (c) the matching of pictures with objects. Careful consideration of the tasks, and preliminary work with 15 subjects of approximately 4 years of age (selected from disadvantaged and middle class populations), made apparent the following problems: (I) Some tasks and materials were not age appropriate; (2) the range of tasks was not sufficiently broad for our purposes; (3) situations and objects that children were required to "represent" were not equally familiar to children in the two groups (disadvantaged and middle class); (4) degree of experimenter participation was not sufficiently standarized; (5) differences in performance seemed, in some cases, to be a function of differential understanding of verbally given instructions.

During the past months, these problems have been dealt with through extensive revisions of tasks and procedures. Such revisions include: (a) total revision of many tasks (e.g. development of entirely new set of materials and procedures for object-matching tasks); (b) development of a new series of tasks involving the representation of spatial arrangements; (c) elimination of contents which could be considered less familiar to deprived children, and the substitution of contents which can be considered at least grossly equal in familiarty to children of the two groups; (d) standardization of administration of all task situations; (e) the introduction of demonstration items to further minimize the role of verbal instructions.

Our concern with (a) the general problem of test validity(i.e. the relationship between task performance and non-verbal representational functioning in non-test situations) and (b) the relationship between non-verbal representational functioning and language usage, has led us to include -- in the current study -- data on classroom play activities, and performance on tests of linguistic ability.

Current Study

A. Objectives and Hypotheses

The current exploratory study has three main objectives. The first is to investigate, through performance on a series of tasks, aspects of non-verbal representation in disadvantaged as compared with middle class pre-school children. The second objective is to investigate, in a preliminary way, relationships between non-verbal symbolizing ability and linguistic competence. The third objective is to develop, on the basis of continuing investigations, a set of tasks or techniques tapping non-verbal representational functioning which is more refined and systematic than is the set of tasks being used in this exploratory investigation.

Our general hypotheses may be stated in the form of questions:

1. Are there differences between disadvantaged and middle class preschoolers in performance on the series of non-verbal representation tasks?

2. Is there generality to the measures of non-verbal representation to be employed? (Such generality would show up in a (a) individual consistency in task performance, (b) consonance between task performance and relevant classroom behavior).

3. Is there a positive relationship between non-verbal representation 1 functioning and linguistic ability, such that those subjects who perform best on the tasks will also be the ones who score highest on indicators of language competence?

B. Data and Instrumentation

The tasks. The revised series of tasks is comprised of four groups, designated as (a) play situations, (b) imitations, (3) spatial arrangements, (d) picture-object matching. The complete list of tasks, including demonstration items and instructions, is appended (Attachment A). It can be seen that each task is presented at two levels of difficulty -- an ("easy and a "hard form) (the latter presumably involving a greater gap than the former between what is to be represented and the means available).

Language usage. Three tests of language usage will be employed. These are: (a) the Vocal Encoding sub-test of the Illinois Test of Psycholinquistic Abilities (which requires the subject to describe each of four objects presented to him), (b) the Picture Vocabulary of the Stanford Binet Intelligence Scale, and (c) the Vocabulary sub-test of the WPPSI. In addition, tape recordings, will be made of all testing sessions.

Additional data. After each testing session, the between sessions & behavior rated on "Inventory of Factors Affecting Test Performance" (Attachment B) Observations of classroom behavior, focussing on language usage and play activities, will be undertaken on at least a portion of the subjects. Efforts will be made to obtain data pertaining to (a) length and nature of school experience, (b) family background.

C. Subjects

Subjects for the disadvantaged group will be drawn from two or three Headstart classrooms, and from the Early Childhood Center. Subjects for the middle class group will be drawn from private nursery schools (Bank Street School for Children, Sarah Lawrence Nursery School). In terms of family background, variety of experience, etc., these children constitute an advantaged group. For this exploratory study, it seems appropriate to use children who might be considered at the other extreme from the deprived.

All subjects will be between four and five years of age, and an equal number of boys and girls will be included in each group. There will be 30 subjects in each group. In view of the exploratory nature of the investigation, it does not seem warranted to attempt matching of subjects other than in terms of age. We hope to procure, as at least part of our sample, children on whom considerable data is available from other studies (Bank Street Headstart Evaluation data, V. Stern's proposed study of play).

D. Analysis of Data

Methods for coding of task performance are currently being worked out. Performance of the two groups (disadvantaged and middle class) on each group of tasks, and on the set of tasks as a whole, will be compared through qualitative and quantiative analysis.

Data from tape recordings of test sessions, language tests, and task performance will be utilized to investigate relationships between language usage and non-verbal representational functioning.

An examination of individual consistency in task performance, and comparison of classroom behavior with test performance, will be undertaken in the attempt to ascertain the generality of our measures of non-verbal representational functioning.

Data from "Inventory of Factors Affecting Test Performance" will be utilized to check on whether differences between groups on task performance are closely related to variables such as attention span, etc.

As far as current activities are concerned, we are currently engaged in pre-testing items from the present set of tasks, in developing scoring procedures on the basis of pre-test data, and in establishing an order for the presentation of tasks.

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Attachment A

TASKS FOR STUDY OF NON-VERBAL REPRESENTATION*

I. PLAY SITUATIONS

In these two tasks, the child is given sets of materials and directions concerning the setting. Each play situation is presented in two forms: (a) with realistic play materials, (b) with non-realistic play materials. The presentation of the two situations ("kitchen" and "street scene") is preceded by a demonstration item.

Demonstration for Play Situation Tasks

Materials:

Four flat tabletop blocks and a family of four Flagg dolls. (Light-skinned dolls are used for light-skinned children, dark-skinned dolls for dark-skinned children.)

Administration:

The blocks are placed flat on the table in front of the child and the dolls are placed standing up, close by. E says: "Could you pretend, make believe, that these people are going to bed, lying down in their beds?" If no response, or in case of play not following instructions, say something like, "This lady is going to bed" and put her on one of the blocks; then ask child, "Can you put this little girl on her bed?" and so on, until all four people are in bed. (Since the purpose of the demonstration item is to make clear to the child the nature of the task, E may participate as much as necessary, but should not allow the subject to be merely an observer.)

Play Task #1 ("Kitchen")

Materials:

a. Realistic: toy coffee pot, cup and saucer, pot, dish, spoon and fork
b. Non-realistic: hollow wooden cylinder, smaller and larger wooden cup-like forms, 2 wooden discs, 2 sticks. (Note: These materials are the same size as the realistic materials.)

Administration:

Realistic or non-realistic sets of materials are placed on table in front of child, and the following instructions given: "Could you pretend, make believe, that you are in the kitchen and making something to eat?" (If no response, repeat question.)

---

* Each task is presented to the subject in two forms. For PLAY SITUATIONS, SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PICTURE-OBJECT MATCHING, some of the materials for the two forms of each task differ; for IMITATIONS, the conditions differ (i.e. simultaneous vs. delayed imitation). The two forms of each task are presumed to differ in difficulty; the "easier" version of each task is stated first in this listing. The order of presentation of tasks to subjects has not been finally determined.

Play Task #2 ("Street Scene")

Materials:
- a. Realistic: miniature houses, miniature fire engine, truck, 2 cars
- b. Non-realistic: tabletop unit blocks, 4 small pieces of wood. (Note: these materials correspond in approximate shape and size to the realistic materials.)

Administration:

For realistic materials, miniature houses are arranged in two rows (simulating a street); miniature trucks and cars are placed to one side, but close by. For non-realistic materials, tabletop unit blocks are arranged as the houses were in the realistic condition; small pieces of wood are placed as were the trucks and cars. For both sets of materials, the instructions are: "This is a street. Could you pretend, make believe, that there is a fire in one of the houses?" (Repeat if necessary.)

II. IMITATIONS

In these four tasks, the child is asked to imitate body (arm) movements and object motions. Each task is presented for simultaneous and delayed imitation. Presentation of body movement tasks and object motion tasks is preceded by a demonstration item.

Demonstration for Body Movement Tasks

E says, "Now, watch what I'm doing, and then you do it." E, standing up, brings hands together and claps twice. E asks child to imitate this gesture, offering encouragement and repeating gesture if necessary.

Body Movement #1 (Clapping)

E, standing up, swings arms at sides, brings arms up over head, and claps hands twice.
- a. Instructions for simultaneous imitation: "Watch what I'm doing, and then we'll do it together."
- b. Instructions for delayed imitation: "Watch what I'm doing, and then -- when I've stopped -- you try it."

Body Movement #2 (Arm Position)

E, standing up, stretches one arm up, the other down; E then reverses arm positions; finally brings other arm up, ending with both arms stretched upwards. Instructions are as before.

Demonstration for Object Motion Tasks

E says, "Watch what I'm doing and then show me, with your hand, what the hammer is doing, how the hammer is moving." E pounds table with toy hammer. If child does not respond, E repeats demonstration, encouraging child to try; if necessary, E shows him how one might imitate hammer movement. (Child should not actually use hammer.)

Object Motion #1 (Scissors)

E opens and shuts pair of scissors, and, pointing them to the left, moves them in a cutting motion from right to left.

a. Instructions for simultaneous imitation: "Look at the scissors, and show me with your hand what they are doing, how they are moving."
b. Instructions for delayed imitation: "Look at this, just watch it, and when I stop, show me what the scissors were doing, and how they were moving.

Object Motion #2 (Cylinder Rolling)

E rolls cylinder across table. Instructions for simultaneous and delayed imitation correspond to those for "scissors motion."

III. SPATIAL ARRANGEMENTS

In these three tasks, the experimenter places a set of materials in a given arrangement, and the child is asked to make the same arrangement with similar but not identical materials. The child is asked to make each arrangement with (a) materials relatively similar to those used by E and (b) materials less similar to those used by E. The presentation of the series of tasks is preceded by a demonstration item.

Demonstration for Spatial Arrangement Tasks

Materials:
For model: Small red ball, plastic cup
For subject: Small cube of wood, square wooden container.

Administration:
E places box containing cube and container in front of child. Saying "Watch what I'm doing and then do it with your things," E proceeds to put the small red ball into the plastic cup. E provides whatever help is necessary (repeating instructions, encouraging, repeating demonstration, etc.).

Spatial Arrangement #1 (Putting two smaller objects on larger object)

Materials:
For model: 2 identical yellow blocks, larger red block
a. Similar: 2 identical blue cubes, larger green block
b. Dissimilar: 2 odd-shaped wooden pieces, larger wooden disc.

Administration:
E places box containing materials (a. or b.) in front of child. Saying "Watch what I'm doing, and then do it with your things," E proceeds to place the two yellow blocks side by side on the red block.

Spatial Arrangement #2 (Enclosure)

Materials:
For model: 4 tabletop "butter blocks," red disc
a. Similar: 4 tabletop unit blocks, blue cube
b. Dissimilar: 4 triangular blocks of different colors, yellow cylinder

Administration:
E arranges the four blocks in a hollow square and puts the red disc inside the aquare. E then asks the child to do the same with his materials.

Spatial Arrangement #3 (Placing objects in a row according to size)

Materials:
For model: 3 yellow cylinders of different heights
a. Similar: 3 triangular solids of different sizes
b. Dissimilar; 3 uncolored wooden forms, differing in size and shape

Administration:
As before. E arranges the yellow cyclinders in a row from smallest to largest.

IV. PICTURE-OBJECT MATCHING

In this series of four tasks, the child is presented with an array of four objects and a photograph of one of the objects. For each array of objects there are two photographs. One shows the object in focus; the other is both out of focus and depicts the same object from a slightly different perspective. The child is given either the clear photograph or the unfocused one (at different times) and is asked to indicate which object is shown on the photograph.

Demonstration for Picture-Object Matching

Materials:
a. Objects in array: string of beads$_1$, string of beads$_2$, pendant necklace, chain
b. Photograph of beads$_1$, in focus

Administration:
E places the four objects in front of the child and, showing him the photograph, says, "This is a picture of one of these things. Show me which object it is a picture of." E provides as much encouragement and help as necessary, indicating correct matching if need be.

Picture-Object Match #1 (Horse)

Materials:
a. Objects in array: toy horse$_1$, toy horse$_2$, toy cow, toy dog
b. Photograph of toy horse$_1$, in focus or
c. Photograph of toy horse$_1$, out of focus and from a different perspective

Administration:
E presents objects and one of the two photographs and says, "This is a picture of one of these things. Show me which one it is a picture of." After matching has been made or attempted, E asks child to name objects and photograph.

Picture-Object Match #2 (Car)

Materials:
a. Objects in array: toy car$_1$, toy car$_2$, toy station wagon, toy truck
b. Photograph of toy car$_1$, in focus or
c. Photograph of toy car$_1$, out of focus and from a different perspective

Administration: As before

Picture-Object Match #3 (Hairbrush)

Materials:

a. Objects in array: hairbrush,$_1$ hairbrush,$_2$ toothbrush, cleaning brush
b. Photograph of hairbrush,$_1$ in focus or
c. Photograph of hairbrush,$_1$ out of focus and from a different perspective

Administration: As before

Picture-Object Match #4 (Container)

Materials:

a. Objects in array: plastic container,$_1$ plastic container,$_2$ glass jar, partially filled container
b. Photograph of plastic container,$_1$ in focus or
c. Photograph of plastic container,$_1$ out of focus and from a different perspective

Administration: As before

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Research Division

Attachment B

INVENTORY OF FACTORS AFFECTING TEST PERFORMANCE*

Child's Name ____________________
Child's No. ______
Center No. ______
Class No. ______
Time Finished ______
Time Started ______
Total Time ______

This inventory focuses on the need to identify factors which adversely affect test performance on the Stanford-Binet. It should be completed by the tester immediately following each administration of the Binet.

A set of factors which may adversely affect the child's test performance are listed below, with several styles in which the factor may express itself. A rating scale is provided to indicate the degree of adverse effect noted by the tester.

If a factor does NOT adversely affect performance, circle the ZERO on each scale. If performance is adversely affected, note the degree to which the factor is detrimental to test performance and circle the number corresponding to the degree of adverse effect according to the scale below. Finally, indicate by circling the appropriate letter at the right the style in which the adverse effect is expressed during testing.

Factor	Degree of Adverse Effect of Factor						Style
X	0	1	2	3	4	5	A
	No Adverse Effect	Mildly Detrimental		Moderately Detrimental		Seriously Detrimental	B
							C

Factor	Degree of Adverse Effect of Factor	Style
Response to test		
1. Gives the test the attention it requires	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. easily distracted B. overly absorbed in one or more tasks so that transitions are difficult C. vaguely inattentive and uninvolved
2. Realistic sense of competence	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. distrusts or anxious about own abilities B. overly confident of own abilities C. lacking in concern with competence
3. Adequate response time	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. impulsive -- responds without adequate delay B. slow to respond -- much urging needed

---

*Adapted from Stanford-Binet and UCLA scales

Factor	Degree of Adverse Effect of Factor	Style
Response to test		
4. Is matter of fact about tasks or enjoys them	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. dislikes tasks, antagonistic B. fearful, guarded C. apathetic -- lacking pleasure or displeasure
5. Adequately persistent in the face of difficulty	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. gives up easily B. can't give up C. behavior unmodified in the face of difficulty
6. Reacts to failure realistically	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. withdraws B. becomes hostile C. denies, seems indifferent to failure
Response to examiner		
7. Feels socially at ease	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. belligerent, rebellious B. shy, reticent, reserved C. unresponsive-apathetic
8. Responds to normal amount of encouragement and support	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. needs constant praise and encouragement B. acts overly independent C. indifferent to praise or encouragement
Generalized responses		
9. Normal activity level	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. hyperactive B. hypoactive
10. Normal verbal productivity	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. verbose B. taciturn
11. (for bilingual or multilingual children) English usage adequate	0 1 2 3 4 5	A. English usage inadequate
Test conditions		
12. Adequate	0 1 2 3 4 5	Specify nature of inadequacy or interference, e.g., room noisy, child sick, etc. ____________________ ____________________

10/12/67

PS001075

HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

Progress Report of Research Studies
1966 to 1967
(Documents 1 - 6)

Document 4

DEVELOPMENT OF OBSERVATION PROCEDURES FOR ASSESSING PRESCHOOL CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT

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December, 1967

DEVELOPMENT OF OBSERVATION PROCEDURES FOR ASSESSING PRESCHOOL CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT

The Preschool Environment Inventory (attached) was developed for the purpose of providing a method for characterizing the school environment of children in Head Start and other preschool programs so as to relate children's behavior on tests and/or in the classroom to environment variables. It embodies the Bank Street College view of what is salient in the education of young children. This view is expressed in the choice of the general aspects of the school environment to be evaluated as well as in the specific dimensions. Although this instrument expresses a clear theoretical position, the scales and check lists are phrased in non-evaluative language. The Inventory is intended to serve as an instrument which summarizes the most salient features of a preschool environment (from the viewpoint of a developmental and psychodynamic approach to preschool education) and describes these dimensions so that they can be measured with ordinal scales.

The focus is on the teacher (her mode of teaching, the quality of her relationship with the children both individually or as a group, her teaching style), but we have also included the physical environment, materials and equipment, and the general atmosphere of the classroom. The predominance of items on the teacher's stance with respect to children's play and her utilization of play for stimulating cognitive behavior, stems from a conviction that play is an important medium for learning, a view shared by both psychoanalytic and development theorists.[1]

It will be noted that the Inventory cannot be used by untrained observers but requires them to be familiar with basic concepts in early childhood education.

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[1] This point of view is also stated clearly in the Head Start pamphlet, "Daily Program I."

For the most part, this instrument was based on previous work of the investigator.[2] Its development was also greatly influenced by discussions and writings of Bank Street faculty, and by rating forms developed for studies done by members of the Bank Street research staff. Discussions with staff members who were observing Head Start programs contributed a realistic view of the range of teaching to be found in Head Start programs, and therefore, clearer definitions of scale points.

Our first task was to develop as exhaustive and differentiated a group of scales and check lists as possible. This Inventory is the outcome. The next step is for several observers (singly and in pairs) to use the Inventory systematically in classrooms. The ratings and other judgments will be made on the basis of running records taken by the observers. Subsequent discussion of this experience should pinpoint where clarification is needed, what important dimensions are omitted, where there is overlap, whether the scales call for too much differentiation, whether the examples given are appropriate and useful, and the major sources of interscorer disagreement. On the basis of these discussions, the Inventory will be refined, clarified, and trimmed.

Upon completion of the final revision, determination can be made of the degree of training required to achieve satisfactory levels of interscorer agreement. The reliability of the scale will be assessed and its validity determined with this year's evaluation sample.

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[2] See Cohen, Dorothy H., and Stern, Virginia, Observing and recording the behavior of young children. One of a series in Alice Miel (Ed.), Practical Suggestions for Teaching. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1958.

PRESCHOOL ENVIRONMENT INVENTORY

Developed by Virginia Stern, in collaboration with
Anne Gordon and other members of the Bank Street
College of Education Research Division

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Fall, 1967

Acknowledgments

The approach to the education of young children reflected in this Inventory stems from a long association with Bank Street College, the writings of faculty members and recent meetings about the education of disadvantaged, preschool children.

Scales #31 and #42 of the Inventory are from "The Observer's Rating Form" (Appendix B, Long Form), by John Pierce-Jones, Bill S. Caldwell and Emma Lou Linn, Child Development Research and Evaluation Center, University of Texas, by permission from the authors.

Scales #25, #27 and #33 have been adapted from scales used in a study of teacher personality: see Zimiles, H., Biber, Barbara, Rabinowitz, W., and Hay, L., Personality aspects of teaching: a predictive study. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1964, 69, 101-149.

Scale #39 and Check Lists XX and XXI are adapted from scales used in a study of classroom processes: see Leacock, Eleanor B., Teaching and Learning in City Schools. New York: Basic Books, Inc., for publication in 1968.

Check Lists I, IV and VIII are adapted from Notes on Evaluation of Educational Program in Head Start Centers, City of New York Community Development Agency, Human Resources Administration.

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BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
Research Division

A. PHYSICAL SET-UP, MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

(Check Lists I - VII)

CHECK LIST I - INDOOR PREMISES

	Yes	No
1. Is the space adequate? (i.e., at least 20' x 25')	___	___
2. Is it reasonably free of extraneous noise?	___	___
3. Ventilation:		
windows	___	___
other	___	___
4. Lighting:		
artificial	___	___
daylight	___	___
Is it adequate?	___	___
5. Bathroom location:		
adjacent to room	___	___
close to room	___	___
at a distance	___	___
6. Bathroom facilities:		
1 toilet and basin for 15 children	___	___
2 or more toilets and basins for every 15 children	___	___
child height:		
toilet	___	___
basin	___	___
7. Is the bathroom used exclusively by children and staff?	___	___
8. Are the premises clean? E.g., floors, bathroom fixtures. (Do not count playing mess.)	___	___
9. Is there adequate space for children's clothing, etc.?		
1 locker for each child	___	___
1 locker for 2 or more children	___	___
no lockers, but hooks, boxes or other arrangement	___	___

CHECK LIST II - ROOM APPEARANCE AND ARRANGEMENT

	Yes	No
1. Is the room cheerful? (e.g., light-colored walls, children's products displayed)	—	—
2. Is the room clearly subdivided for different activities? (e.g., for painting, block building, doll play, water play)	—	—
3. If so, does the arrangement allow for cross-area movement and play?	—	—
4. Does the arrangement impress you as:		
spacious	—	—
cluttered		

CHECK LIST III - INDOOR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

	Within reach or sight of children	Out of Reach or sight of children	Not available at Center
1. Building Materials and Accessories			
Unit building blocks	—	—	—
several sizes	—	—	—
different shapes	—	—	—
Small colored cubes	—	—	—
Hollow wood or cardboard blocks .	—	—	—
Boards	—	—	—
Steering wheel(s)	—	—	—
Vehicles:			
small (e.g., cars, trucks, planes, etc.)	—	—	—
large (i.e., child can sit in or on)	—	—	—
Small animal figures	—	—	—
Small human figures	—	—	—
Puppets	—	—	—
Other	—	—	—
2. House Play Equipment			
Small table and chairs	—	—	—
Doll bed	—	—	—
with mattress and/or blankets .	—	—	—
Carriage	—	—	—
Stove	—	—	—

	Within reach or sight of children	Out of reach or sight of children	Not available at Center
2. House Play Equipment (cont'd)			
Refrigerator	___	___	___
Sink	___	___	___
sponges, straws, containers	___	___	___
Cupboard	___	___	___
dishes	___	___	___
pots	___	___	___
cutlery	___	___	___
cooking utensils (e.g., egg-beater, funnels, bowls)	___	___	___
House cleaning set (e.g., broom, mop, dustpan, carpet sweeper)	___	___	___
Ironing board and irons	___	___	___
Dolls: Negro	___	___	___
White	___	___	___
Dress-up clothes			
for boys	___	___	___
for girls	___	___	___
Stuffed animals	___	___	___
3. Creative-Expressive Materials			
Easel	___	___	___
Paints	___	___	___
Paper	___	___	___
Paint brushes	___	___	___
Finger paints and paper	___	___	___
Construction paper	___	___	___
Crayons	___	___	___
Paste	___	___	___
Scissors	___	___	___
Pipe cleaners	___	___	___
Collage materials	___	___	___
Clay	___	___	___
Dough	___	___	___
4. Music Equipment			
Phonograph and records	___	___	___
Autoharp	___	___	___
Xylophone	___	___	___
Piano	___	___	___
Children's instruments: e.g., drum, triangles, bells, shakers, sticks	___	___	___
5. Work bench	___	___	___
Vises, nails, screws	___	___	___
Hammers, saws, screwdrivers	___	___	___
6. Books	___	___	___
7. Puzzles	___	___	___

	Within reach or sight of children	Out of reach or sight of children	Not available at Center
8. **Games**: e.g., lotto, dominoes, etc. .	___	___	___
9. **Manipulative Toys**: e.g., beads, form boards, nested boxes, cones . .	___	___	___
10. **Plants**	___	___	___
11. **Animals**	___	___	___
12. **Aquarium with Fish**	___	___	___
13. **Climbing or Other Large Equipment**. .	___	___	___
14. **Mats** (to sit or lie on)	___	___	___
15. **Furniture**: e.g., tables, chairs, shelf cabinets	___	___	___
16. **Sink with Running Water**	___	___	___
17. **Sand Table**	___	___	___
18. **Miscellaneous**			
Pictures	___	___	___
Flannel board	___	___	___
Magnifying glass	___	___	___

CHECK LIST IV - OUTDOOR PREMISES

	Yes	No
1. How near is outdoor play area to the classroom?		
adjacent or very close	___	___
within walking distance of school	___	___
2. If not adjacent to classroom, are water and toilet facilities available? . . .	___	___
3. Space: (minimum: approx. 30' x 35' to 30' x 50')		
adequate	___	___
good	___	___
4. Is it a public playground?	___	___
5. If not, do other children use the playground at the same time?	___	___

	Yes	No
6. Is the surface in good repair?	___	___
7. Is there sun	___	___
shade	___	___
8. Are there trees	___	___
grass	___	___
shrubs	___	___

CHECK LIST V - OUTDOOR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT

	Within reach or sight of children	Out of reach or sight of children	Not available at Center
1. Jungle gym	___	___	___
2. Three-way ladders	___	___	___
3. Sandbox or sand pile	___	___	___
4. Pails, shovels, molds	___	___	___
5. Concrete pipes	___	___	___
6. Tunnel	___	___	___
7. Slide	___	___	___
8. Swing	___	___	___
9. Hollow blocks	___	___	___
10. Boards	___	___	___
11. Tricycle(s)	___	___	___
12. Wagon(s)	___	___	___
13. Dolly	___	___	___
14. Rocking boat	___	___	___
15. Trucks, cars, to sit on and/or drive	___	___	___
16. Balls	___	___	___
17. Rope	___	___	___

CHECK LIST VI - SUMMARY OF INDOOR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT WITHIN REACH OR SIGHT OF CHILDREN (refer to Check List III)

All ___
Most ___
Some ___

CHECK LIST VII - SUMMARY OF OUTDOOR MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT WITHIN REACH OR SIGHT OF CHILDREN (refer to Check List V)

All ___
Most ___
Some ___

B. PLAY ACTIVITIES
(Check List VIII)

CHECK LIST VIII - PLAY ACTIVITIES	Yes	No
1. Building with unit blocks	___	___
2. Clay	___	___
3. Dough	___	___
4. Painting (easel)	___	___
5. Finger painting	___	___
6. Cutting, pasting, collage	___	___
7. Crayoning	___	___
8. Puzzles	___	___
9. Manipulative toys	___	___
10. Wood working	___	___
11. Cooking	___	___
12. Listening to stories	___	___
13. Looking at books	___	___
14. Looking at pictures	___	___
15. Group discussion	___	___
16. Group or individual dictation of stories	___	___
17. Trip	___	___
18. Science	___	___
19. Numbers and math	___	___
20. Dramatic Play:		
house and domestic	___	___
other	___	___
21. Water play	___	___
22. Listening to records	___	___
23. Playing instruments	___	___
24. Group musical games	___	___
25. Singing	___	___
26. Rhythms	___	___
27. Games	___	___
28. Sand or mud play	___	___
29. Large-muscle activities:		
climbing	___	___
sliding	___	___
crawling	___	___
swinging	___	___
building with large blocks	___	___
pulling wagons	___	___
riding tricycles, trucks, cars	___	___
pushing dolly or wheelbarrow	___	___
jumping rope	___	___
playing with balls	___	___

C. PROGRAM: STRUCTURE, BALANCE, ORGANIZATION
(Scales 1 - 4)

SCALE 1. PROPORTION OF TIME DEVOTED TO VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM

For this, make a note of the time that activities relevant to each aspect of the program begin and end; then calculate the percentage of total time devoted to each.

1 - Free play, indoors

2 - Free play, outdoors

3 - Routines
(e.g., taking off and putting on outer clothing, group time devoted to picking up and putting away materials, washing, toileting, snack, lunch and rest)

4 - Teacher-directed (initiated and structured) group play activities (e.g., story-reading, rhythms, games, listening to music, singing)

5 - Formal lessons

SCALE 2. EXTENT TO WHICH CHILDREN ENGAGE IN LARGE- AND SMALL-MUSCLE ACTIVITY DURING PLAY

"Large-muscle activity": climbing, running, building with large blocks, rhythms;
"Small-muscle activity": manipulative or other table activities, e.g., puzzles, dough, clay.

1 - Preponderance of large-muscle activity

2 - Somewhat more large-muscle than small-muscle activity

3 - Equal balance between large-muscle and small-muscle activity

4 - Somewhat more small-muscle than large-muscle activity

5 - Preponderance of small-muscle activity

SCALE 3. FREQUENCY OF TEACHER-INITIATED CHANGES OF ACTIVITY FOR GROUP AS A WHOLE

1 - Very frequent: 16 or more times

2 - Frequent: 11 - 15 times

3 - Moderate: 7 - 10 times

4 - Few: 5 - 6 times

5 - Very few: 3 - 4 times

SCALE 4. DEGREE OF ORGANIZATION

1 - Very high
(e.g., teacher seems to know exactly what she is going to do, and when and how she is going to do it; all necessary materials are prepared and available, whether for play, routines or lessons.)

2 - High
(e.g., most of the time teacher seems to know what she is going to do, and when and how she is going to do it; for the most part, necessary materials are prepared and available.)

3 - Moderate

4 - Low
(e.g., teacher frequently does not seem to know what she is going to do. There may be a lack of communication between teacher and aides about plans for the day. Insufficient preparation may cut off activities shortly after they are started, and/or rush routines. There may be periods in which children are waiting around with nothing to do.)

5 - Very low
(e.g., teacher confused, disorganized; materials not prepared in advance. Clear evidence of lack of planning and communication between teachers.)

D. MODE OF TEACHING
(Scales 5 - 17; Check Lists IX - XII)

There is a general distinction between two modes of teaching which underlies many of the scales in this section. This has to do with the teacher's point of view about how children learn and her attitude toward children's play. On the one hand, play may be viewed as the basic medium through which young children learn and, therefore, as equivalent to "work"; on the other hand, it may be considered merely as pleasurable experience, unrelated to learning.

If a teacher considers play a medium for learning, she will try to provide the kinds of materials, activities, equipment and program which will stimulate play. She will try to expand the children's knowledge, clarify their understanding of the world, etc., in relation to their ongoing activities, experiences and response to their environment. Her program will be closely integrated.

If a teacher views play merely as pleasure, separated from "work," her main efforts will be to plan lessons and activities (possibly in the form of games, puzzles, trips, etc.) which she considers appropriate for children of a particular age, maturity and home background. She will not consider it important to introduce these lessons and activities at times when the children's play activities or their spontaneous remarks and questions might make them relevant, nor will she show much interest in the content of the children's spontaneous play. For this teacher, the program will be clearly demarcated in terms of work and play, education and fun.

SCALE 5. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER UTILIZES SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAM FOR ENCOURAGING AND STIMULATING CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

The "specific aspects" of the program to be considered are:

(a) free play activities

(b) teacher-directed activities (for the whole group or sub-groups) such as, story reading, musical games and rhythms, lotto and similar games, trips

(c) routines and transitions

(d) formal lessons

"Cognitive development," as used here and in scales 6 through 10, includes:

(a) language development

(b) understanding of concepts

(c) development of ability to differentiate, generalize and abstract

(d) understanding of physical and other relationships

(e) understanding of the immediate environment (home and school) and as much of the larger environment as is age-appropriate

1 - Uses all four aspects of the program

2 - Uses three aspects of the program

3 - Uses two aspects of the program

4 - Uses one aspect of the program

5 - Uses none

SCALE 6. EXTENT OF TEACHER'S ACTIVE ENCOURAGEMENT AND STIMULATION OF CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

In considering the number of such incidents, take into account both the amount of time and the elaboration the teacher gives in each case. Two contrasting examples are:

Unelaborated: T shows child(ren) a color, or a series of colors, and asks, "What color is this?"
Elaborated: T may do the same as above, but follows this with, "Find me something that's red," "Find me something that's green," etc., and/or "What color is Tim's shirt," "What color is Jenny's dress," etc., and/or ask the children to mix paints in order to see what colors they get, etc.

In the rating, one elaborated instance is counted as equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on degree of elaboration.

1 - Very active: 21 or more instances

2 - Active: 11 - 20 "

3 - Moderately active: 4 - 10 "

4 - Somewhat active: 1 - 3 "

5 - Not active: 0 "

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SCALE 7. DEGREE OF EMPHASIS ON VERBAL-SYMBOLIC MODE FOR ENCOURAGING AND STIMULATING CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

"Verbal-symbolic": emphasis on verbalization, explanation, use of books and pictures as sources of information about the world and the children's relationship to it, etc. The underlying concept is that children learn through words and the verbalization of ideas and concepts.

When rating, take into account the amount of time and elaboration involved in each incident. One elaborated instance is equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on the degree of elaboration.

1 - Very high: 21 or more instances

2 - High: 11 - 20 "

3 - Moderate: 4 - 10 "

4 - Low: 1 - 3 "

5 - None: 0 "

SCALE 8. DEGREE OF EMPHASIS ON EXPERIENTIAL MODE FOR ENCOURAGING AND STIMULATING CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

"Experiential": emphasis on sensory motor experiences as source of learning; provision of relevant experiences, materials, activities through which to broaden children's understanding of the physical world, etc.

When rating, take into account the amount of time and elaboration involved in each incident. One elaborated instance is equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on the degree of elaboration.

1 - Very high: 10 or more instances

2 - High: 6 - 10 "

3 - Moderate: 3 - 5 "

4 - Low: 1 - 2 "

5 - None: 0 "

SCALE 9. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER RELIES ON FORMAL LESSONS FOR PROMOTING CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

"Formal lesson": Teacher-directed instruction for the group as a whole or for sub-groups.

1 - Five or more lessons

2 - Four lessons

3 - Two to three lessons

4 - One lesson

5 - No lessons

SCALE 10. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER UTILIZES CHILDREN'S ONGOING PLAY ACTIVITIES, EXPERIENCES, SPONTANEOUS REMARKS AND QUESTIONS FOR PROMOTING THEIR COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

Teacher may do this by asking a relevant question, by providing information or materials, by making suggestions, etc. The salient features are the teacher's awareness of and sensitivity to what the children are playing, and her ability to detect the cues which indicate what action she can take.

1 - Very frequently: 12 or more instances

2 - Frequently: 7 - 11 "

3 - Sometimes: 3 - 6 "

4 - Seldom: 1 - 2 "

5 - Never: 0 "

SCALE 11. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER, THROUGH HER BEHAVIOR, INDICATES THAT SHE IS CURIOUS, EXPLORATORY

"Curious, exploratory": Teacher expresses curiosity, both verbally and nonverbally, about the world (why things are as they are, about relationships, causes, motivations, physical change, etc.); indicates that asking questions is important and interesting; that it is possible, through exploration, to find answers to questions; that she herself does not know all the answers, that no one does.

"Incurious": Teacher does not express curiosity about the world; does not explore the environment nor ask questions to which she may not know the answers; her behavior therefore may imply that she knows all the answers.

1 - Very high curiosity

2 - High "

3 - Moderate "

4 - Low "

5 - Incurious

SCALE 12. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER ACTIVELY ENCOURAGES CHILDREN'S CURIOSITY, EXPLORATION

1 - Very high encouragement

(e.g., T is always responsive to children's questions. Although she may sometimes answer them directly, her tendency is to help them to find the answers by asking relevant questions herself, by encouraging them to think for themselves, by providing or suggesting materials, activities, experiences which may lead to further explorations, etc.)

2 - High encouragement

3 - Moderate encouragement

4 - Little encouragement

(e.g., T frequently ignores children's questions; does not give them opportunities to explore; may stress right and wrong way of doing things.)

5 - No encouragement

(e.g., T ignores children's questions or tells them she is too busy to answer questions. When they make spontaneous remarks which do not fit in with her plans or preconceived ideas, she may ignore them or tell them to keep quiet.)

SCALE 13. TEACHER'S ROLE RE CHILDREN'S CHOICE OF ACTIVITIES, INDOORS

1 - Always gives children complete freedom to choose materials and activities; makes no suggestions even to children who seem unable to choose.

2 - Generally gives children free choice, but occasionally will make a suggestion or start a child on an activity if he seems unable to do so on his own.

3 - Sometimes gives children free choice, sometimes makes suggestions and offers help. At times when the group, in general, or individual children seem unable to make their own choices, she will set out materials for them or help them get started on activities.

4 - More often than not, T determines children's activities by suggestion, getting material and giving it to child, etc.

5 - Children have little opportunity to choose own activity. T nearly always determines activity for children by suggestion, getting material and giving it to child, etc.

SCALE 14. TEACHER'S ROLE RE CHILDREN'S CHOICE OF ACTIVITIES, OUTDOORS

(Scale points as defined in Scale #13)

SCALE 15. DEGREE OF DIRECTIVENESS RE CHILDREN'S PLAY ACTIVITIES, INDOORS

This scale refers to the degree to which the teacher tells children what to paint, build, draw, etc., and/or how to do it, verbally or by example. It does not refer to directiveness with respect to choice of activity. This scale does not apply to formal lessons but to all child-initiated play and to appropriate teacher-directed activities, e.g., collage, music, rhythms.

When rating, consider not only frequency but also the number of children involved each time.

1 - Very high

2 - High

3 - Moderate

4 - Low

5 - None

SCALE 16. DEGREE OF DIRECTIVENESS RE CHILDREN'S PLAY ACTIVITIES, OUTDOORS

(Scale points as defined in Scale #15)

SCALE 17. DEGREE OF EMPHASIS ON EXPLICIT TEACHING OF MOTOR AND MANUAL SKILLS

This refers to the explicit teaching of how to climb, jump, skip, cut, paste, control drips in painting, button, zip, wash, etc.

1 - Very high: 12 or more instances
2 - High: 7 - 11 "
3 - Moderate: 3 - 6 "
4 - Low: 1 - 2 "
5 - None: 0 "

CHECK LIST IX - MODE OF RESPONSE TO CHILDREN'S PLAY ACTIVITIES, INDOORS

(Check one item on rating sheets.)

1. Ignores what children are doing; not responsive when child shows her what he is doing or has made.
2. Responds to requests for materials, help, and/or approval.
3. Appears interested in children's play; of her own accord, may provide additional materials, make suggestions, give information relevant to children's play.
4. Indiscriminately makes suggestions, gives information, provides additional materials; intrusive at times.

CHECK LIST X - MODE OF RESPONSE TO CHILDREN'S PLAY ACTIVITIES, OUTDOORS

(Check one)

(Items as in Check List IX)

CHECK LIST XI - TEACHER'S INTEREST IN CHILDREN'S THINKING VIS-A-VIS CORRECT ANSWERS

(Check One)

"Thinking": Children's reasoning, evaluating and judgments about the physical world and about people and social relationships.

1. Teacher is more interested in children's thinking than in their giving correct answers.
   (e.g., T tends to show interest in children's explanations and to accept and/or approve evidence of their thinking even if the conclusion is incorrect.
   T tends to ask relevant questions, e.g.,
   Jane - "I'm older than Tommy."
   Teacher - "How do you know?"
   Jane - "Because I'm bigger.")

2. Teacher is interested both in the thinking process and in correct answers.
   (e.g., T asks relevant questions, encourages verbalization of thinking process, gives approval to children's thinking. If child's conclusion is based on inadequate information, she may supply the necessary information and help him arrive at the correct conclusion.)

3. Teacher is more interested in correct answers than in the thinking process.
   (e.g., T tends to pay little or no attention when child attempts to explain his ideas; she makes little or no attempt to encourage children to verbalize their reasoning. She gives approval only to "correct" answers or to what she considers the proper answer and expresses disapproval of incorrect answers, e.g.,
   Jane - "I'm older than Tommy."
   Teacher - "No, you're not. He's five and you're four.")

4. Teacher is interested neither in the thinking process nor correct answers.

CHECK LIST XII - TEACHER'S INTEREST IN THE WORKING-PLAYING PROCESS VS. "QUALITY" OF THE FINAL PRODUCT

(Check One)

"Working-playing process": Children's involvement in, active use of and expression through various creative media, e.g., blocks, paints, clay, crayons, etc.
"Quality": Representativeness, prettiness, neatness, etc.

1. Teacher is more interested in, values more, the working-playing process than the quality of the final product.

CHECK LIST XII. Continued

2. Teacher is interested both in the working-playing process and the quality of the final product.

3. Teacher is more interested in, values more, the quality of the final product than the effort and involvement that went into it.
   (e.g., T tends to express approval of products that meet conventional standards and disapproval of those that do not, e.g.,
   "That doesn't look like a flower" or
   "That's a very pretty picture."

4. Teacher is interested neither in the process nor the product.

E. TEACHER'S ROLE RE LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, ARTICULATION OF IDEAS AND FEELINGS

(Scales 18 - 23; Check Lists XIII - XVI)

SCALE 18. TEACHER'S MODE OF COMMUNICATION: VERBAL/NON-VERBAL

Only deliberate and explicit communications are to be considered here, i.e., the explicit content of statements or deliberate signs, signals and gestures. Unconscious facial expressions, gestures and body movements are not included.

1 - Always communicates verbally with the children (even if children do not understand).

2 - Communications mostly verbal; occasional non-verbal signals used (e.g., for children to be quiet).

3 - Uses both verbal and non-verbal modes equally. Both modes may be used simultaneously.

4 - Non-verbal communications more frequent than verbal.

5 - Predominance of non-verbal communications.

SCALE 19. AMOUNT OF VERBALIZATION

Do not include amount of talking T does with adults.

1 - Teacher is extremely verbal, talks constantly.

2 - Very verbal

3 - Moderately verbal

4 - Verbalization limited

5 - Minimal verbalization

SCALE 20. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER ATTENDS TO THE CHILDREN'S COMMUNICATIONS (OR THEIR ATTEMPTS TO COMMUNICATE), WHETHER VERBAL OR NON-VERBAL

1 - Always attends to children's communications (regardless of content).

(e.g., T indicates, verbally and/or non-verbally, that she values what the child is communicating or trying to. If unable to attend at the moment, T indicates to the child that she will get back to him, and does so. During group discussion or lessons, T indicates to any child who wishes to speak that he will have a turn and sees that he does.)

2 - Attends more frequently than not to children's communications.

(e.g., Non-verbal communications may be ignored more often than verbal; unassertive children more than assertive ones. T is not as likely to promise or carry through on promises to get back to a child if she is unable to attend at the moment, either in individual or group situations.)

3 - Moderate attention to children's communications.

4 - More frequently than not ignores children's attempts to communicate.

(e.g., T's attention is selective: she may attend to specific kinds of communications, or particular children's, or may be attentive only in certain situations, such as formal lessons or "show and tell.")

5 - Generally ignores or actively discourages children's attempts to communicate.

(e.g., T tells children to be quiet when they try to communicate or will attend only to the most urgent communications, such as when a child is hurt or wants to go to the bathroom. She may ignore them because she is unaware when children are trying to communicate.)

SCALE 21. DEGREE OF TEACHER'S EMPHASIS ON CORRECT USE OF LANGUAGE

"Correct use of language": Correct pronunciation, word meaning, grammar, etc.

1 - Very high

(e.g., T corrects children's mistakes whenever she hears them (whether in formal lessons, teacher-directed activity, free play, etc.)

SCALE 21. Continued

2 - High
(T corrects children's mistakes most of the time.)

3 - Moderate
(T sometimes corrects children's mistakes and may limit her corrections to formal lessons, recitations, "Show and Tell," etc.)

4 - Low
(T seldom corrects children's mistakes.)

5 - None
(T never corrects children's mistakes.)

SCALE 22. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER ENCOURAGES AND/OR STIMULATES CHILDREN'S VERBAL EXPRESSION

"Encouragement" may include active interest in and attention to what a child is saying and/or intermittent nods, gestures, sounds and/or verbal response.

"Stimulation" includes asking a child to clarify what he is saying, making responses which require further elaboration by the child, direct questions to children who are not saying anything (e.g., "What do you think this is?" or "Can you tell me what your painting is about?"), asking a child to tell a story, asking children to talk about relevant personal experiences and how they felt when they had these experiences, asking a child to describe his feelings when frustrated, upset, angry, enjoying himself; asking children to describe sensory experience in words, e.g., how different textured fabrics feel, playing word games -- "quiet as a _____," "fast as a _____," etc.

N.B. If a teacher gives a child the opportunity for verbal expression but corrects his use of language, a careful judgment should be made as to whether this constitutes an instance of encouragement.

When rating, consider not only the frequency of occurrence but also the amount of time and elaboration involved in each. One elaborated instance is equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on degree of elaboration.

1 - Very high: 15 or more	instances
2 - High: 10 - 14	"
3 - Moderate: 5 - 9	"
4 - Low: 1 - 4	"
5 - None: 0	"

SCALE 23. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER RELIES ON CHILDREN'S ONGOING ACTIVITIES VS FORMAL LESSONS AND PRE-STRUCTURED MATERIALS FOR TEACHING LANGUAGE

"Ongoing activities" includes free play, routines, teacher-directed play activities, etc.

Examples of reliance on ongoing activities: To a child who is high up on jungle gym, T says, "You are up so high" or "Now you're taller than I am." In a circle game in which each child does something for the others to imitate, T may name the motion -- "Johnny is shaking his leg" or "turning round and round" or "jumping up and down." When children are feeling fabrics of different textures, T might ask them to say how each fabric feels and echo the children's words.

1 - Relies almost entirely on children's ongoing activities; seldom or never uses formal lessons and/or pre-structured materials.

2 - Relies more on children's ongoing activities than on formal lessons and/or pre-structured materials.

3 - Relies about equally on children's ongoing activities and on formal lessons and/or pre-structured materials.

4 - Relies more on formal lessons and/or pre-structured materials than on children's ongoing activities.

5 - Relies almost entirely on formal lessons and/or pre-structured materials, seldom or never on children's ongoing activities.

CHECK LIST XIII - TEACHER'S LANGUAGE: ADULT VS CHILD LEVEL

(Check one item on rating sheet.)

1. Teacher adjusts language to child level, i.e., related to their age and maturity. Her vocabulary is limited and simple, with short sentences, sometimes just a word. Her sentence structure is simple; her communications are brief.

2. Teacher adjusts her language to child level but also includes in her vocabulary words and phrases common to the social class and/or ethnic groups to which children belong.

3. Teacher does not adjust her language to child level, but her language is restricted and frequently ungrammatical.

4. Teacher does not adjust her language to child level. She may use difficult vocabulary or words unfamiliar to children; and/or long sentences; and/or complex sentence structure.

CHECK LIST XIV - TEACHER'S RESPONSE TO CHILDREN'S NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATIONS

(Check one)

1. Teacher responds to children's non-verbal communications; she does not try to get children to verbalize their non-verbal communications nor clarify by interpreting (e.g., if child is pointing in the general direction of the easel, she might say, "You can paint" or take him over to the easel and put an apron on him).
2. Responds to children's non-verbal communications. Generally attempts to clarify meaning of children's non-verbal communications by interpreting (e.g., if child is pointing in the general direction of the easel, "Do you want to paint?" etc.).
3. Responds to children's non-verbal communications; generally tries to get children to verbalize their non-verbal communications (e.g., "Tell me what you want").
4. Generally ignores or rejects children's non-verbal communications.

CHECK LIST XV - PREPARATION FOR NEXT ACTIVITY, CHANGE

1. Teacher generally prepares the children (verbally and/or nonverbally) for transition to next segment of program and for unexpected changes in schedule or activity. For example, she warns them several minutes in advance that it will soon be time to pick up and/or may start picking up but tell the children they can finish what they are doing and then pick up.
2. Teacher generally does not prepare children for transition, etc.

CHECK LIST XVI - TEACHER'S MODE OF COMMUNICATION WITH NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING CHILDREN

(Check one)

1. Teacher talks to non-English speaking children only in English.
2. Teacher uses some English but also tries to communicate with the children non-verbally, through conscious gestures, movements, facial expressions.
3. Teacher uses some English, but also uses some words and phrases of the children's native language.
4. No non-English speaking children

F. CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT
(Scales 24 - 31; Check List XVII)

SCALE 24. TEACHER'S MODE OF CONTROL: VERBAL-GESTURAL/PHYSICAL

"Verbal-gestural": Includes verbal restrictions, limits on children's behavior, instructions and demands re behavior; conscious signs, signals, gestures, body movements and facial expressions for the purpose of controlling and directing children's behavior.
"Physical": Includes holding, moving, touching, restraining child's body or part of body for purposes of controlling behavior; physical punishment.

1 - Teacher uses only verbal-gestural mode.

2 - T uses verbal-gestural mode most of the time; occasionally uses physical mode.

3 - Physical mode used about as often as verbal-gestural.

4 - Physical mode used more often than verbal-gestural.

5 - Physical mode used most of the time; teacher seldom uses verbal-gestural mode.

SCALE 25. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER EXPLAINS REASONS FOR HER DEMANDS, RULES AND RESTRICTIONS

1 - Always explains reasons.

2 - Usually explains reasons.

3 - Sometimes explains reasons.

4 - Seldom explains reasons.

5 - Never explains reasons.

SCALE 26. PUNITIVENESS OF CONTROL

"Punitiveness": Use of sarcasm, shaming, strong criticism; hurting a child, though not necessarily consciously, when holding, picking him up, moving him, etc.; use of physical punishment.

1 - Control methods always non-punitive.

2 - Control methods usually non-punitive.

SCALE 26. Continued

3 - Control methods as frequently punitive as non-punitive.

4 - Control methods frequently punitive.

5 - Control methods almost always punitive.

SCALE 27. EXTENT TO WHICH TEACHER IMPOSES LIMITS ON CHILDREN

1 - Rarely imposes restrictions and limits: 0 - 4 instances

2 - Imposes few restrictions and limits: 5 - 10 "

3 - Imposes a moderate number of restrictions and limits: 11 - 15 instances

4 - Imposes many restrictions and limits: 16 - 24 instances

5 - Imposes numerous restrictions and limits: 25+ "

SCALE 28. CONSISTENCY OF ENFORCEMENT OF DEMANDS AND RESTRICTIONS

1 - Very high: T always enforces demands and restrictions.

2 - High: T enforces demands and restrictions most of the time.

3 - Moderate: T enforces demands and restrictions about half the time.

4 - Low: T seldom enforces demands and restrictions.

5 - Very low: T almost never enforces demands and restrictions.

SCALE 29. DEGREE OF RATIONALITY OF TEACHER'S DEMANDS AND RESTRICTIONS

"Rationality": In this Scale demands and restrictions imposed by the T are based on

a) Health and safety, e.g., not climbing on cabinet shelves or, if the assistant teacher is absent, the teacher might impose temporary restrictions on the children's use of certain equipment (saws, jungle gym) which requires adult supervision;

b) Developmental factors are those concerning the children's capacity for impulse control, e.g., restrictions on young children's movement for long periods of time would not be considered rational since children are not developmentally ready for this.

SCALE 29. Continued

1 - Very high: All rules, restrictions seem to have a rational basis.

2 - High: Most rules, restrictions seem to have a rational basis.

3 - Moderate: About half the rules, restrictions seem to have a rational basis.

4 - Low: Few rules, restrictions seem to have a rational basis.

5 - Very low: Very few, if any, rules, restrictions have a rational basis.

SCALE 30. DEGREE OF TEACHER'S EMPHASIS ON MANNERS

"Manners": verbal politeness, e.g., "Thank you," "Please," "Excuse me," etc.; table manners, e.g., use of proper utensils, not messing with food, etc.

1 - Very high:	10 or more instances
2 - High:	6 - 9 "
3 - Moderate:	3 - 5 "
4 - Low:	1 - 2 "
5 - None:	0 "

SCALE 31. EXTENT TO WHICH THE TEACHER RESPONDS TO THE CONSEQUENCES VS. THE INTENT OF A CHILD'S ACT

1 - Always focuses on intent.

2 - Focuses on intent more than on act.

3 - Focuses on act and intent about equally.

4 - Focuses on the act more often than the intent.

5 - Always focuses on the act itself.

CHECK LIST XVII - STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR

(Check one)

1. Teacher's predominant emphasis is on verbal expression of politeness (e.g., T may insist that children say "thank you," "please," etc. T is satisfied with and/or gives approval to verbal expression of politeness: if a child knocks down another child's building, whether intentionally or not, T may ask child to apologize and say nothing further when he does.)

2. T's predominant emphasis is on children's understanding of the needs, feelings, rights of others (e.g., T does not insist that children use verbal expression of politeness. If a child knocks down another child's building, she may point out that the other child worked hard on his building and is upset -- if he is -- at having it knocked down.)

3. No emphasis observed.

G. ASPECTS OF TEACHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE CHILDREN

(Scales 32 - 38; Check Lists XVIII - XIX)

SCALE 32. AMOUNT OF OVERT AFFECTION EXPRESSED BY TEACHER

This refers not only to physical and verbal expressions of affection, but also to facial and other, less explicit expressions.

1 - Numerous expressions of affection: 15 or more instances

2 - Many expressions of affection: 9 - 14 "

3 - Some expressions of affection: 4 - 8 "

4 - Few expressions of affection: 1 - 3 "

5 - None: 0 "

SCALE 33. DEGREE OF EMOTIONAL DISTANCE FROM CHILDREN

1 - Very great
(T is very remote and distant -- not really in contact with the children.)

2 - Great
(T is somewhat cold and aloof, but is able to reach the children to some extent or on some occasions.)

SCALE 33. Continued

3 - Moderate
(T interacts easily and comfortably with the children, sensing their feelings yet retaining adult perspective.)

4 - Little
(T is occasionally overinvolved in the emotions and feelings of the children and tends to lose adult perspective.)

5 - Very little
(T is inappropriately close to the children and overreacts to children's feelings and moods.)

SCALE 34. AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO CHILDREN BY TEACHER DURING ROUTINE ACTIVITIES

Take into account only the amount of spontaneous assistance given, not the assistance given as a result of children's need for or requests for help.

When rating, consider not only frequency of occurrence but the amount of time and help involved each time.

1 - Very great: 21 or more instances	
2 - Great: 13 - 20	"
3 - Moderate: 6 - 12	"
4 - Little: 1 - 5	"
5 - None: 0	"

SCALE 35. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER ENCOURAGES CHILDREN TO COME TO HER FOR HELP (DURING ANY ACTIVITY)

"Encouragement" here may mean that the T asks children if they want help or she may tell them that she will help them if they want her to or that she is available and ready to help when a child is struggling with something.

1 - Very high: 12 or more instances	
2 - High: 7 - 11	"
3 - Moderate: 4 - 6	"
4 - Low: 1 - 3	"
5 - None: 0	"

SCALE 36. BALANCE OF APPROVAL/DISAPPROVAL EXPRESSED BY TEACHER

All expressions of approval or disapproval are included, e.g., of children's behavior, products, effort, clothing, verbal expression, etc.

1 - Expressions of approval predominate. Little or no disapproval expressed.

2 - More frequent expressions of approval than of disapproval.

3 - Expression of approval and disapproval about equal.

4 - More frequent expressions of disapproval than of approval.

5 - Expressions of disapproval predominate. Little or no approval expressed.

SCALE 37. DEGREE OF TEACHER'S DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO THE CHILDREN

"Differential Response": Teacher's special treatment of groups of children -- two or more -- having a specific characteristic in common (see Check List XVIII), e.g., T pays a great deal of attention or very little, expresses a great deal of affection or none, gives much praise or much criticism, gives special privileges or none, is highly involved, identified with or not at all involved, identified with.

1 - Very great

2 - Great

3 - Moderate

4 - Little

5 - None

SCALE 38. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER'S ATTENTION IS DEVOTED TO THE WHOLE GROUP VS. INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN

1 - Teacher devotes most of her time and energy to overseeing and managing the group as a whole, with little attention to the activities of individual children or small groups of children. (The aides may or may not be working with individuals or small groups.)

2 - Teacher devotes a good part of her time and energy to overseeing the group as a whole; occasionally shows awareness of or gets involved with a child or a small group.

SCALE 38. Continued

3 - Teacher keeps a watchful eye on the group as a whole but is able, at the same time, to work with individual children and small groups.

4 - Occasionally gets so involved with an individual child or a small group that she seems to be ignoring the total group.

5 - Spends most of her time working with individual children or small groups. Gives little attention to overall managerial role.

CHECK LIST XVIII - APPARENT BASIS FOR DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO CHILDREN

A differential response has to have been observed with two or more children.

1. Sex
   a. Boys
   b. Girls
2. Racial, ethnic background
3. Behavioral deviance
   a. Excessively shy, withdrawn, passive children
   b. Excessively aggressive, assertive children
   c. Excessively dependent children
4. Intellectual ability
   a. High
   b. Low
5. Other

CHECK LIST XIX - DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER RESPONDS TO THE CHILDREN AS INDIVIDUALS

1. Very high
   (Teacher's manner of response to the children is highly differentiated, e.g., she tends to talk to the children individually, her voice and manner vary when dealing with different children, there may be indications that she knows a great deal about what the children are like in terms of personality, interests, likes and dislikes or home background.)

2. High

3. Moderate

4. Low

5. Very low
   (Teacher's response is stereotyped, as if the group were an undifferentiated mass, e.g., she tends to address the group as a whole, her voice and manner are the same for all children, she seems to know little about children as individuals -- their personalities, interests, likes and dislikes or home background.)

H. TEACHER'S ROLE RE PEER RELATIONS
(Scales 39 - 40)

SCALE 39. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER ATTEMPTS TO PROMOTE SOCIAL AND PLAY CONTACTS BETWEEN CHILDREN

When rating, consider not only frequency of occurrence but also the amount of time and elaboration involved in each. One elaborated instance is equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on degree of elaboration. Two contrasting examples are:

Unelaborated: T suggests to David, who is pulling a wagon, that he give Emma a ride.

Elaborated: Same as above. If the children agree to this, T might stay near them and make other suggestions, such as that Emma and David might get some blocks to put in the wagon, and/or that some other wheeled toy might be attached to the wagon. She might, in addition, help other children to join in the wagon play and/or make suggestions to help them develop the dramatic aspects of the play.

SCALE 39. Continued

1 - Very high: 11 or more instances

2 - High: 6 - 10 "

3 - Moderate: 3 - 5 "

4 - Low: 1 - 2 "

5 - None: 0 "

SCALE 40. DEGREE TO WHICH TEACHER EMPHASIZES THE REQUIREMENTS OF GROUP LIVING

"Requirements of group living" include sharing, taking turns, listening to others, cooperation, respect for the property belonging to others, etc.

When rating consider not only the frequency of occurrence but also the amount of time and elaboration involved in each. One elaborated instance is equivalent to from three to five unelaborated instances, depending on the degree of elaboration. Two contrasting examples are:

Unelaborated: If Johnny is trying to grab a wagon from Lucy, T says to Johnny, "You'll have the next turn with the wagon."

Elaborated: T says, "You'll have a turn with the wagon as soon as Lucy is through. Everybody who wants to can have a turn, but we only have one wagon. Maybe you could let Lucy pull you in the wagon for a while, and then you could have a turn pulling her." T may also sing a song about each child pulling the wagon, or each child having a turn, etc.

1 - Very high: 11 or more instances

2 - High: 6 - 10 "

3 - Moderate: 3 - 5 "

4 - Low: 1 - 2 "

5 - None: 0 "

J. STYLE AND TONE OF TEACHER
(Scales 41 - 42; Check Lists XX - XXI)

SCALE 41. DEGREE OF THE TEACHER'S INVOLVEMENT IN TEACHING

The judgment of "involvement" should not be affected by the teacher's style of expression, i.e., a teacher who has a vivacious manner is not necessarily more involved than one who does not. Rather, consider how much the teacher talks with her aides, with visitors, with observers; whether she engages in activities unrelated to the children and the program; whether she seems to know what is going on with the children regardless of what she is doing; whether she reacts positively or negatively to interruptions which turn her attention away from the children, etc.

When rating take into account both the proportion of time that the teacher's attention is focused on the children and their activities as well as its intensity.

1 - Very high
(Teacher shows complete concentration on and interest in her teaching role, and/or the program, and/or the children.)

2 - High

3 - Moderate

4 - Low

5 - Very low
(Teacher appears bored with her teaching role and all aspects of the program; her performance is mechanical, a job she has to do; she may find extraneous ways of alleviating her boredom.

SCALE 42. EXTENT TO WHICH THE TEACHER SEEMS TO DEPEND ON EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION AND/OR AFFECTION FROM THE CHILDREN

1 - Very great dependence

2 - Great dependence

3 - Moderate dependence

4 - Slight dependence

5 - Little or no dependence

CHECK LIST XX - MATURITY OF MANNER

(Check one)

1. Immature
   (e.g., Tends to be self-pitying, and/or complaining, and/or demanding, and/or indicates envy or jealousy.)

2. Mature
   (e.g., Tends to be well-controlled emotionally, natural in manner, realistic.)

CHECK LIST XXI - STEADINESS: IMPULSIVE/STABLE

(Check one)

1. Teacher tends to behave in an impulsive, erratic manner
   (e.g., She is sometimes affectionate toward children, sometimes cold and unloving; unable to control her anger at times, at other times she is well controlled; she is subject to obvious mood swings.)

2. Teacher tends to behave in a stable manner
   (e.g., Her behavior re affection for the children is even; she shows consistency of mood; she has an equable temper.)

K. CLASSROOM ATMOSPHERE

(Scales 43 - 44; Check Lists XXII - XXIII)

SCALE 43. RELAXATION/TENSION: TEACHERS

1 - Very relaxed
(e.g., Teachers seem unpressured, unrushed; there is very little teacher-child friction.)

2 - Generally relaxed

3 - Moderately relaxed

4 - Generally tense

5 - Very tense
(e.g., Teachers seem pressured and pressuring most of the time; there is a great deal of teacher-child friction.)

SCALE 44. RELAXATION/TENSION: CHILDREN

1 - Very relaxed
(e.g., Children seem unpressured, unrushed; there is very little child-child friction.)

2 - Generally relaxed

3 - Moderately relaxed

4 - Generally tense

5 - Very tense
(e.g., Children seem upset; there is frequent wild and excited behavior; a great deal of child-child friction; relaxed periods are rare.)

CHECK LIST XXII - RELATIONSHIP OF HEAD TEACHER TO AIDES

1. Teacher has authoritarian relationship with aides
(e.g., T gives orders to aides without explanation; aides are not allowed to take responsibility but must wait for T to tell them what to do, or are relegated to clean-up jobs exclusively; the manner in which T talks with aides, her tone of voice, indicates a contemptuous attitude and/or enjoyment in bossing them around.)

2. Teacher has democratic relationship with aides
(e.g., T makes suggestions to aides about how to handle current situations; she explains; she listens to suggestions from aides; aides take some responsibility for the group, or parts of the group, or for particular group activities; T's manner and tone of voice indicate respect for the aides.)

3. Neither (or not observable)

CHECK LIST XXIII - AFFECTIVE RELATIONSHIP OF TEACHER AND AIDES

1. Positive relationship
(Relationship seems amicable; no signs of friction, tension, conflict, or temperamental incompatibility.)

2. Negative relationship
(Teachers seem to dislike each other; signs of friction, tension, conflict, temperamental incompatibility.)

HEAD START EVALUATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

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Document 5

COMPARATIVE ITEM-CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ACHIEVEMENT TEST PERFORMANCE IN YOUNG CHILDREN

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COMPARATIVE ITEM-CONTENT ANALYSIS OF ACHIEVEMENT TEST PERFORMANCE IN YOUNG CHILDREN

The purpose of this study is to contribute a more differentiated description of the cognitive status of young disadvantaged children through a comparative analysis of achievement test performance of disadvantaged and middle-class groups of children. The analysis focuses on item-by-item differences in performance in order to identify areas of comparative strength and weakness on the basis of the study of item content. In so doing, the study attempts to contribute to an evaluation of the usefulness of standard group testing procedures conducted in the schools as a source of information regarding the areas of achievement and deficit among its children. Although achievement tests are routinely administered periodically in most school systems, their results contribute little specific knowledge about the cognitive functioning of the children. In the case of schools in deprived areas, for example, the results of achievement test administration are cited to indicate how many years behind the children are in reading and other academic subjects. Seldom is an attempt made to go beyond grade equivalent scores in order to obtain diagnostic information, to gauge areas of strength and weakness so that a more differentiated statement of the disadvantaged child's skills and deficits is achieved. The present study represents an attempt to secure such information from achievement test data obtained from children in the first three grades. It is reasoned that the preparation for later schooling conducted by Head Start should be based upon a full knowledge of the capabilities of disadvantaged children during their first few years of grade school.

Method

Achievement test data were gathered from nine public schools. Four pairs of schools, one pair from each of four boroughs, were selected on the basis of published reading test scores, such that one member of the pair was among the highest scoring schools in the borough while the other member was among the lowest scoring schools. Both members of each pair of schools were located in the same school district, but the children from the high scoring schools were predominantly from white middle-class families whereas the low scoring schools were made up almost entirely of children from lower-class Negro or Puerto Rican families. Test scores were also made available from a ninth school, located in Harlem, thereby enlarging the sample of disadvantaged children. Data are available from the following tests:

- New York State Readiness Tests
- Metropolitan Achievement Tests:
  - Primary I Reading Test, Form B
  - Upper Primary Reading Test, Form B
  - Upper Primary Arithmetic Test, Form B
  - Elementary Arithmetic Test, Form B

It should be noted, however, that data from all the tests cited above were not available from all schools. In Table 1 below, the complete roster of data available for analysis is cited. This report is based upon the initial phase of analysis of selected portions of this body of data; further analysis is currently underway.

Results

The results here reported are based exclusively on New York State Readiness Test data obtained from children just beginning first grade. This test is made up of six subtests: Word Meaning, Listening, Matching, Alphabet, Numbers and Copying. The Word Meaning Test (16 items) asks the child to mark one of three pictures in each row named by the examiner. All but one of the items involve nouns.

The Listening Test (16 items) involves listening to an orally presented detailed statement of a sequence of events or a description of a more or less familiar object. Usually all that is required is close attention to and retention of the details of the content, and then relating them to the appropriate pictorial representation of this same content. In a number of instances, however, relatively unfamiliar objects or events are alluded to so that under these circumstances, the item primarily calls for the availability of information rather than listening.

The Matching Test (14 items) requires the child to find the figure among three alternatives that is exactly the same as a comparison figure. Eight of the 14 items present words, or rather, from the children's viewpoint, sequences of letters, and the remaining items present abstract geometric figures. The Alphabet Test requires the child to mark the letter read aloud by the examiner.

The Numbers Test contains the largest number of items and is the most heterogeneous in content. It calls for simple forms of ordination and cardination, writing and recognizing numbers, knowing about money, and using arithmetic reasoning to solve simple problems. The Copying Test requires the child to copy a set of 14 figures. The first four items presented letters or numerals while the remainder involved geometric figures of varying complexity.

The mean proportion of items answered correctly for each subtest in each school is given in Table 2 along with relevant normative data. There is great consistency to the pattern of test results. In all three high scoring middle-class groups, the highest proportion of items answered correctly was achieved in the Word Meaning, Listening and Alphabet subtests. Among the low scoring, disadvantaged groups, the highest proportion by a substantial margin was in the Listening subtest, with Word Meaning usually ranking second. In all the groups, irrespective of whether they were high or low scoring, the lowest proportion, by a wide margin, was obtained on the Copying subtest.

Relative to the mean and quartiles of the norms set by the standardization group, the three high scoring school groups performed best on the Word Meaning and Listening subtests. Lagging somewhat, but still exceeding the means by a considerable margin, are their mean scores on the Numbers and Alphabet subtests. Their Matching subtest mean scores are just above the means of the standardization group. Mean scores on the Copying test trail badly.

The mean subtest scores for each of the five low scoring school groups fell just short of the mean of the normative group on the Listening subtest. The means of these same groups fell approximately halfway between the first and second quartiles of the norms on the Word Meaning subtest. On the Matching subtest, their mean scores were usually somewhat above the first quartile, whereas in the Alphabet subtest, their mean scores fell very close to those corresponding to the first quartile. In four out of the five cases, the mean score on the Number subtest was substantially below the first quartile. All but one of all nine school groups, including the four high scoring groups, scored below the first quartile on the Copying subtest, suggesting that for this particular subtest at least, the norms are in serious error -- or that the administration and scoring of this subtest in the New York City School System are uniformly different from those specified in the test manual.

Thus it would appear that all the school groups, irrespective of their overall performance, performed best on the first two subtests -- Word Meaning and Listening -- and poorest by far on the Copying subtest. Relative to the range of scores obtained on each of the subtests, it would appear that the smallest differences found between the high and low scoring groups were in the Listening and Matching subtests (ignoring the findings on the Copying subtest because of their skewness in relation to the published norms). The greatest difference between the high and low scoring groups was found on the Numbers subtest.

Analysis of school group differences by subtest:

Test 1. Word Meaning

From the proportions obtained on three practice items that preceded the actual test, it would appear that most of the children understood the relatively simple instructions associated with this subtest. Clear differences were obtained between the high and low achieving groups on all of the first 11 of the 16 items on this subtest. There is a consistent pattern differentiating the performance of these school groups. More than 50% of the children from each of the three high scoring schools answered 10 of these first 11 items correctly, whereas only two of these 11 items were answered correctly by more than half of the children in each of the five low achieving school groups. On the remaining nine items, there were only two instances of any of the five school groups obtaining a proportion correct score exceeding .5. The uniformity of the item performance patterns, and the fact that the children from the low scoring school groups functioned well on two of the subtest's 16 items, would tend to suggest that most of the children understood the task* and were able to maintain sufficient interest to respond appropriately when they knew the correct answer. On the basis of the admittedly small sample of words included in the 16-item Word Meaning subtest, it would appear that there are very large differences between the two school groups in the number of words whose meaning they understood, and/or in their ability to recognize pictorial representations associated with words.

Test 2. Listening

The data indicate clear regularities in performance from school to school as a function of item difficulty. The difference between the high scoring and low scoring school groups tend to be consistent but much more modest than in the Word Meaning subtest; there is no dramatic gap between the high and low achievers on this subtest.

Test 3. Matching

Scores on this subtest were substantially affected by the position of the correct alternative. Performance was best on those items in which the correct alternative is presented first. Apparently, when the correct alternative was contiguous with the comparison figure, comparison was greatly facilitated. There were large differences in performance between the high and low achieving school groups, but substantial variation between schools within the disadvantaged group obscured some of the differences between the high and low groups. Although all the school groups were affected by the sequence of alternatives, in many of the low scoring school groups, there was little if any success when the alternative was not contiguous with the comparison figure. The sequence of the alternatives rather than the content of the comparison figure (whether it consisted of words or abstract designs) appeared to be the decisive determinant of success, suggesting that relatively few children had sufficient reading skills to affect their performance on the word items.

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*There is, however, clear indication that some of the children in the low scoring groups simply did not know how to respond to one or all of the subtests. Tabulation of these instances has not yet been done.

Test 4. Alphabet

There are large consistent differences in performance between the high and low scoring groups. Over 60% of the children in the high scoring school groups were usually able to identify each of the letters, whereas there was seldom more than one out of three children in the low scoring school groups who were able to identify the letters correctly. Although the items varied somewhat in their difficulty level, the major source of variance was the social class background distinction of the groups.

Test 5. Numbers

In addition to the problem of the heterogeneity of its content, this test contains peculiar format features. First, the items occupy areas of different size on the answer sheet, so that it may have been difficult for some children to find the appropriate item on the page when the examiner was reading the questions. Second, there are several items in which it is not exactly clear to the examiner how he should indicate his answer. Finally, some of the problems involve rather detailed oral statements by the examiner, so that part of the test, by virtue of its content, should more appropriately appear in the Word Meaning or Listening subtests.

Despite these obfuscating features, rather consistent differences between the high scoring and low scoring school groups are apparent. Virtually all the children could point to the biggest apple among four of varying size (item 1). Most of the children could identify the watch whose hand was pointing toward three, but in this instance there were substantial differences between the middle and lower-class groups.

Three items called for the child to write a number -- a one, two and three-digit number. The one-digit number was considerably easier than the two-digit number, and the three-digit number was impossible for all but a handful of children to do. The preponderance of middle-class children were able to write the one-digit number, whereas only about one of three disadvantaged children had this skill. A greater proportion of high achieving children were able to write two-digit numbers than low achieving children were able to write single-digit numbers; two-digit numbers were only rarely made by children from the low achieving group. The very limited ability of these children to cope with three-digit numbers was further illustrated by their widespread failure to identify correctly the largest of four three-digit numbers presented to them. Only about three in ten, and a little more than one in ten from the high and low scoring groups, respectively, chose the correct answer on this item.

Similar differences between the high and low scoring groups were found in their ability to recognize one and two-digit numerical figures. In fact, slightly more middle-class children could actually write a one or two-digit number than could disadvantaged children recognize a one or two-digit number. For all groups, naturally, the task of recognizing a number was easier than writing it.

Three items presented a counting task, each under somewhat irregular conditions.

The easiest item called for the child to find a house with seven windows. The preponderance of children were able to perform this feat, whereas only a comparatively small number could identify the rectangle which had 12 dots dispersed unevenly throughout its interior. In both instances, the children from the high scoring school group performed somewhat better than those from the low scoring group. This discrepancy increased markedly in their performance on the third item, which called for the child to mark the "seventh bird from the nest" from among a row of birds adjacent to a nest. Apparently the wording of this item almost completely disabled the disadvantaged groups from functioning on this item, whereas more than half the middle-class children were able to pass it.

Four items involved money in some fashion. One asked the child to identify the coin that will buy the most (the correct answer, a picture of a quarter, was also the largest coin); another, to indicate which item (a car or various two or three-wheeled vehicles) costs the most money, while the remaining two items asked for the number of pennies in a dime and in a quarter. The first two items were much easier, especially the one about the coin with the greatest purchasing power. In both, middle-class children performed somewhat better than the disadvantaged groups. This gap widened in the case of the other two items. In these latter instances, however, fewer than half of the middle-class children were able to provide the right answers.

Several problems requiring simple arithmetical reasoning are included in this test. The high scoring groups rather consistently performed better than the low scoring groups, but only in three instances did more than half the children from any of the eight school groups succeed in passing any one of the six problems. Problems calling for simple addition were somewhat easier than those involving subtraction; those requiring multiplication or division were most difficult.

One problem calling for the identification of the glass that was half full was answered correctly by approximately half the high achieving school groups in contrast with but a fourth of the low achieving groups. A similar problem requiring understanding of a fraction -- one fourth -- was only seldom answered correctly by any of the groups.

Two items that ask the child to find the number that is more than one designated number and fewer than another designated number, were seldom answered correctly. As stated on the test, the concept of an interval within which a given number may fall was unfamiliar to these children.

Test 6. Copying

Only the first four items of this subtest (the ones presenting letters or numerals) were handled effectively, more so by the high achieving groups. All eight of the school groups performed well below the median of the norms. Either the conditions of administration were deviant -- or more severe criteria of scoring were used, or there is a pervasive deficiency in the ability to perceive and reproduce geometric figures among New York City children.

Discussion

The results of this micro-analysis of Readiness Test performance indicate that there is a rather widespread difference in ability level between middle-class and disadvantaged children, even at the time when they are about to begin first grade. Unless the differences that were found to pervade virtually every item of every subtest can be completely ascribed to a basic difference in test-taking skills, the data of this study indicate that differences between disadvantaged and privileged children are not restricted to one or two dimensions of the cognitive domain, but rather extend to every area of intellectual functioning the test constructor attempts to assess. Because of the pervasive quality of the differences found among these groups of children, it is reasonable to assume that there is a general trait relating to test-taking effectiveness, whether it be attentiveness or perseverance or achievement motivation that distinguishes the two groups. Nevertheless, the manner in which the curves depicting item-by item performance consistently remain parallel to each other suggest that the specific content of each item, too, influenced test performance.

Since the sampling of the cognitive domain which determined the content of the subtests comprising the Readiness Test appears to be arbitrarily selective and rather uneven, it is impossible to conduct a definitive comparative analysis of the cognitive functioning of six-year-old disadvantaged and middle-class children on the basis of this test alone. Nevertheless, the comparative data suggest some important points. First of all, it should be noted that the subtest with perhaps the heaviest verbal loading -- the Listening Test -- was the one on which the disadvantaged groups performed best (as indicated by the admittedly tenuous norms of the test itself). This subtest required the child to attend to and remember a rather involved set of verbal statements. His relative degree of success in this area would tend to suggest that the emphasis upon the so-called verbal deficit of the disadvantaged child may be misdirected. While the data from the Word Meaning test do indicate that the two groups of children differed greatly in the number of words they knew, it is instructive to observe that the disadvantaged child deals relatively effectively with situations in which he must listen to a flow of conversation by his teacher which is made up of relatively simple, functional elements of language.

Perhaps the most concrete and clearcut generalization that may be drawn from these test findings is that whereas most middle-class children can recognize the letters of the alphabet upon entering first grade, this ability is not present among most disadvantaged children. Unlike many of the other variables the Readiness Test attempted to measure, the nature of the discrepancy in performance on the Alphabet subtest between disadvantaged and middle-class children is so simple to delineate and to measure with precision that it seems to call for a compensatory educational program that provides training in this particular realm. However, the differences found in other parts of the Readiness Test -- in the Word Meaning subtest, in the ability to copy figures, and in the test of numerical knowledge (which indicated that differences existed in their ability to recognize as well as to write numbers, in using numbers in relation to the value of money and objects one could buy with money, and in the ability to use whatever knowledge of numbers they had to work out simple arithmetic problems), all suggest that compensatory programs that focus upon one or two concrete, narrowly circumscribed areas of intellectual functioning have the potential for erasing a deficit in only a fragment of the spheres of the child's intellectual functioning. Unless it can be demonstrated that these particular areas have a highly facilitating and central influence upon other areas of deficit as well as on the learning that is to take place in the school setting, it may be predicted that such compensatory programs will fall short of expectations. In light of the pervasive quality of the deficits of disadvantaged children suggested by the results of the New York State Readiness Tests, it is more useful to identify the nature and source of the integrative and organizational attributes which have thus far impaired their development of intellectual functioning, and to plan a school program that is geared to promote growth in this more basic, integrative level of functioning.

Work to be Done

The first-level analysis here presented for the New York State Readiness Tests will be applied to the test data available from other age level children. Further, the analysis of all test data will be extended to include:

1. An analysis of variability as well as central tendency to determine the distribution of children at various levels of functioning for the two basic comparison groups.

2. Differentiation of those children who performed poorly from those who did not know how to deal with the test at all.

3. Analysis of patterns of intra-individual variation in those instances where scores on different tests are available for the same child (grade 1: subtests

of Readiness Test; grade 3: reading and arithmetic tests).

4. Study of sex differences in performance at all age levels and the two social class groups.

5. Qualitative analysis of performance through the study of patterns of wrong responses.

6. Study of the effects of kindergarten attendance by disadvantaged children on first-grade Readiness Test scores.

7. Study of the effects of ethnic background on test performance along the lines recently initiated by Lesser.

Table 1

Roster of Available Test Data

School	Mean Reading Level for Selected Grades		Number of Cases upon which the Analysis of Test Data will be Based				
				Metropolitan Achievement Tests			
	Grade 2	Grade 5	New York State Readiness Tests (Grade 1)	Primary 1 Reading Test Form B (Grade 2)	Upper Primary Reading Test Form B (Grade 3)	Upper Primary Arithmetic Test Form B (Grade 3)	Elementary Arithmetic Test Form B (Grade 3)
P.S. 324 Bronx	4.3	9.7	234	228	185	24	185
P.S. 472 Brooklyn	3.9	7.7	150	159	168	49	115
P.S. 599 Queens	3.9	8.2	70	28	76	25	74
P.S. 640 Manhattan	3.6	8.6	---	118	136	39	93
P.S. 332 Bronx	2.2	4.9	108	143	111	86	58
P.S. 484 Brooklyn	1.9	3.8	112	110	93	90	---
P.S. 550 Queens	2.0	4.1	106	111	79	56	24
P.S. 688 Manhattan	2.0	4.4	137	133	139	110	34
P.S. 692 Manhattan	2.0	4.0	89	134	120	99	28
	Normal 2.8	5.8	TOTAL: 1006	1164	1107	578	611

Table 2

Proportion of Items Answered Correctly on Each Subtest of New York State Readiness Tests

	N	Word Meaning	Listening	Matching	Alphabet	Numbers	Copying
			(High Scoring)				
P.S. 324	234	.70	.66	.56	.73	.57	.26
P.S. 472	150	.63	.64	.57	.64	.51	.32
P.S. 599	70	.65	.61	.55	.58	.47	.26
			(Low Scoring)				
P.S. 332	108	.45	.54	.45	.35	.35	.20
P.S. 484	112	.46	.53	.34	.30	.29	.15
P.S. 550	106	.40	.53	.29	.29	.29	.19
P.S. 688	137	.39	.56	.38	.30	.29	.18
P.S. 692	89	.44	.55	.29	.33	.29	.10
Normative Data:	Mean:	.54	.56	.54	.59	.46	.49
	Q_3:	.69	.69	.79	.88	.58	.71
	Q_1:	.38	.44	.29	.31	.35	.29

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Document 6

INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION PROJECT 1

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INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION PROJECT 1

Background of Project

Individual Instruction Project 1 owes its inception to the work of Marion Blank* with preschool disadvantaged children described in an unpublished manuscript (pre-publication draft), "Individual Teaching of Language for Abstract Thinking." Briefly, this work consists of individual tutoring aimed at "helping the child to develop an abstract language system which he would readily turn to in all problem-solving tasks." Four children out of a classroom group of 12 received daily individual tutoring for three months. Concepts taught included number, direction, speed, size, temporal sequence, facial expressions, body parts and functions. Pre- and post-test results with the Stanford-Binet showed a mean I.Q. gain of 18 points for the experimental group while test results of the control subjects in the same class showed no or very little gain.

Purpose

The purpose of this project was to provide individual instruction in cognitive and language areas to offset lags commonly identified as effects of socio-economic disadvantage on intellectual development. It was expected that the addition of individual instruction in specific content would help to focus children on the uses and usefulness of abstract concepts and on the language for these concepts. Further, it was hoped that children might emulate the adult whose exclusive attention they possessed in using language as a way of ordering experience and communicating with others.

The use of the label "Project 1" expresses the hope that such exploration of methods of individual instruction in language concepts will be continued in the future at the Early Childhood Center, as part of the Center's service to preschool children as well as a vehicle for study of children's attitudes toward particular techniques for cognitive advancement.

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Method of Study

Individual Instruction Project 1 consisted of an intensive tutoring program on a one-to-one basis of nine three- and four-year-old children attending the Bank Street College Early Childhood Center.

The Stanford-Binet LM was administered to a pool of 49 children in attendance during a five-day testing period. Based on this pre-test, 17 children with I.Q.s below 107 were selected and placed into two groups, an experimental (N = 9) and a control group (N = 8). The experimental group was exposed to the instructional tutoring program. The control group was not exposed to this program. Both experimental and control groups were retested with the Stanford-Binet LM at the completion of this three-month project. The major portion of pre-testing (approximately 35 out of 49 cases) and most of the post-testing (15) was administered by one examiner who did not participate in any other way in this project and therefore did not know the identity of the experimental or control groups. The remaining tests were administered by the Project Director, who did not tutor any of the children she tested.

Child Population

In selecting children with I.Q.s below 107, we expected to reach those whose cognitive development had presumably suffered from the effects of environmental deprivation. While a lower cut-off point (I.Q. = 100) was considered preferable, it was not possible to obtain the desired number of children in this I.Q. range.

The mean initial I.Q. of the experimental group was 92.7; the mean I.Q. of the control group was 95.9. This very slight difference may be accounted for by the loading of greater learning problems in the experimental group related to the "service orientation"* of the Center which led inadvertently to inclusion of the neediest, least adaptive children in the experimental group.

Frequency of Tutoring Sessions

Eight children in the experimental group were scheduled for four 15-20 minute sessions weekly. Total number of sessions for these eight children ranged from 20 to 29 with a mean of 25 sessions representing only 56% of available sessions over three months. One child was on a three sessions per week schedule. This child received only a total of 15 sessions.

Staff

Project 1 was staffed by a project director (half-time), an advisor** who worked with one child for several initial sessions for exploratory purposes, and by one full- and one part-time student teacher. An additional teacher*** was included several weeks after the program started.

The Teaching Task

How were the children to be taught? Does teaching of color, size, relationships, etc., promote an enriched conceptual approach or just convey a few pieces of information (i.e., how transferable is this learning)? How can new modes of thinking be made meaningful to those children in the group who showed no apparent curiosity for extending and clarifying experience through words? What was to be the teaching approach in a short-term intensive and "achievement oriented" (I.Q. gains) program?

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*This was not intended but "happened" when two children dropped out of the originally selected group and were replaced.

**Blanche Saia

***Bea Baron

The brief time unit of instruction (15-20 minutes) and the three-month time limit imposed the need for strategies to increase instructional opportunity, e.g., restriction of alternatives open to the child, restriction of space, "instant" boosts to motivation, insistence on task completion, devices for reducing anxiety.

What constitutes readiness for learning abstract language concepts? Readiness for which concepts? Chronological age, initial language status, apparent intellectual level, test estimate of intellectual functioning, perceptual motor function and other behavioral clues of maturity level were used to assess level of readiness. The pertinent use of these clues depended on the experience and intuition of the teacher-observer. This still left us with intuitive-empirical guidelines regarding the hierarchies of abstraction. It was in this crucial area of the work that the need for more preparation in advance of a project of this type seemed greatest. Teachers were often unable to reduce the level of difficulty of a task. They had difficulty preparing a sufficient variety of graded sub-steps of increasing complexity.*

The teachers in this project are, by temperament and training, committed to the idea that learning should be experienced by the child as a need-fulfilling process and not as an implacable adult demand. This psychodynamic orientation, which commits the teacher to a participating rather than an authoritative role, tends to conflict with the use of pressure to yield maximal short-term results. The specific measurable goal (I.Q. gains) imposed by Project 1 gave rise to the need for strategies of teaching which at times seemed incompatible with the teacher's perception of her function in promoting learning as a gratifying, need-fulfilling experience.

Furthermore, when a psychodynamic orientation is practiced by beginning teachers, the teacher's approach tends to suffer from vagueness, hesitation, and unreliable limits. When this was hastily corrected by the teacher because of the requirement of the project, the child was confronted by abrupt shifts of approach from soft to firm, or from suppression of infantile needs to indulgence of these needs, which confused him further.

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*Marion Blank reported last spring that a "Manual" for Individual Instruction is in preparation.

In this project, an incompatibility of teaching aims was experienced particularly when children resisted the teacher or when the teachers were at a loss how to teach a concept. Those children who found the experience gratifying seemed to promote the coherence and consistency of the teacher's approach.

Content and Materials

Content of the sessions focused on classification and differentiation as ways of ordering and mastering experience: e.g., size, quantity, sensory quality, location, temporal sequence, relationships (see Appendix). Toys, miscellaneous materials, as well as the persons of teacher and child were used for the application of these concepts. For example, an assortment of small rubber animals was used for classification: kind of animal, families, adult and young, for relative size, for counting and for spatial orientation concepts. Plastic chips and felt circles were used for teaching colors, sizes and numbers. Hide-and-seek games required location concepts and provided suspense and the gratification of mastery over unknowns.

Some experimental play and instructional materials provided by Bank Street Publications* offered novelty and were useful for focusing on the temporal sequence of action, on stages of growth, on cause and effect. However, less elaborately prepared materials seemed to serve equally well.

The persons of teacher and child and a mirror were used to develop a language of self-awareness, differentiation and mood expression.

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*Prepared for group use in Head Start programs.

Use of Space

Activities were limited to a small room in which a table and floor mat served as play areas. Restriction of space for the 15-minute session was one method for focusing the child on the subject of the session. Roaming and exploring of larger spaces were discouraged. The staircase and trips through the building (usually related to the child's return to the classroom) were used to teach spatial concepts.

Results

As shown in Table 1, modest I.Q. gains occurred in both groups. However, the control group showed a slightly higher change (1.2) than the instruction group. Compared with a mean I.Q. gain of 18 points for Blank's four subjects, these results are disappointing indeed. When compared with the mean gain of less than two points in Blank's control group, the mean gain of 5.9 obtained by E.C.C. control children suggests that cognitive growth might be fostered more in one school environment than in another. Further, the gains of the control group suggest that the children of Project 1 may have made cognitive advances which are measurable in I.Q. terms before the start of individual instruction. The children comprising the instruction and control groups were not school beginners. Average length of school attendance for these children at initial testing was 7 months with a range of 3 to 12 months. The children in Blank's study represent the "youngest class." Length of school experience prior to project start is not indicated.

Discussion and Conclusions

Evaluation of the type of educational intervention tried in Project 1 is hampered by the fact that the required rigor, clarity and control of an experimental procedure could not be maintained. The inception of the program was hasty. The teaching of children, teaching of student teachers and explorations in teaching abstract concepts to young children took place concurrently with a relatively large group of teachers and children. In addition, the staff encountered resistance from classroom teachers who resented their exclusion from the project and saw their protective role conflicting with the tutor's insistence that children leave the classroom at appointed times.

Since Project 1 was not intended as a replication of Blank's work, the results obtained do not reflect on her method. Our experience, however, raises doubts as to whether service-oriented programs duplicating this or other methods can obtain the I.Q. gains achieved in an experimental situation. This does not reflect on the usefulness of this educational procedure, but rather on the type of evaluation imposed upon it.

Experience with Project 1 does not support Blank's optimism concerning the moderate cost per child of this type of program. Her estimate of 1½ hours per child per week does approximate child time invested in the project but does not seem to be a realistic estimate of teacher time. Even if as much as one third of teacher time were allotted to preparation, transitions and supervision, a work load of approximately 20 children for a 30-hour week over a school year would seem highly improbable. Individual work with young children who are to be held to a curriculum that does not always meet their interest is arduous. Our experience in this respect would contra-indicate a full-time teacher assignment for this task. Assignment patterns combining individual teaching with other duties for the full-time person may need to be evolved. Also, when the program is released from experimental restrictions, the participation by the children's classroom teacher in planning and coordinating teaching goals with the special teacher can be a very positive aspect of the intervention with feedback for both classroom and individual instruction.

It has become fashionable in the middle 1960's to attempt educational intervention at young ages with children from "disadvantaged" backgrounds. The success of such interventions is often documented by I.Q. gains obtained by single before-after measures. The terms "gain," "increase" and "acceleration" are used interchangeably, perhaps, to avoid language monotony. "Acceleration," however, seems to be the least applicable of these terms and yet may represent an assumption that is hidden by the other terms. "Acceleration" suggests that a change in pace of intellectual growth is taking place. In effect, I.Q. gains derived from the comparison of two single measures (before-after) may reflect nothing more than improved test-taking ability, and increased awareness of the high value of giving the right answer. While these changes may represent increasing social maturity and the acquisition of attitudes which have a positive influence on subsequent school performance, these I.Q. changes do not necessarily represent an increase in the power to solve problems or a broadening of the cognitive range in a child. Yet changes of this type are associated with the meaning of I.Q. gains.

An evaluation that includes not one, but at least two pre-test I.Q. scores (with the same instrument) separated by a suitable time interval and two post-test also separated in time might tell us more about the meaning of the I.Q. change.

Another issue which is relevant to any type of special educational intervention is the selection of children expected to profit from it. The assumption that any child (who has experienced culture-linked deprivation of intellectual stimuli) can profit from an intensive individual tutoring program in abstract thinking scaled to his maturity level is open to question.

It has not been our experience that all children were helped or even "at least not harmed" by frequent confrontations with an adult insisting upon a new frontier of thinking. When long-range dynamic goals were ignored in favor of specific immediate goals, reactions that were negative to the purpose of the project seemed to intensify. For example, the post-test rejection by two children, resulting in two missing I.Q. scores (see Table 2), was the last gesture of an accelerating defiance and resistance observed in these two children throughout the project's duration. Strategies to counteract the resistance of these children in terms of rule enforcement, the use of authority, meeting oral needs, insuring success, reducing level of abstraction, changing duration of work time, all failed. The fact that numerous approaches were attempted in a relatively short period of time might in itself have perpetuated the failure to reach these two children. In their classroom, these children have continued to practice their negative, resistive stance against the world. Children whose view of the world has been frozen into a chronic stance of angry resistance, lusty at times and miserable at others, but persistent, are not likely to respond well to an intensive and short-term intervention into their ways and habits.

At the other extreme, one docile little boy (Marvin), who was eager to please and who sought his identity in the crumbs of approval offered him by others, seemed to swallow all that was given and regurgitate it in a fashion that indicated a weakening rather than a strengthening of independent thinking.

Several children flourished in this tutoring situation. One active, agitated, restless little girl (Paulette), who liked to play with words but did not use them for effective communication (pre-test I.Q. 82), improved dramatically in the course of the project (post-test I.Q. 105), becoming increasingly able to organize thoughts in sentences and articulate them in comprehensible fashion. The I.Q. increase of 23 points parallels the dramatic improvement in this child's use of words and abstract concepts as a means of ordering her world and functioning in it with more direction and greater satisfaction. At ages 3.5 to 3.8, Paulette was the youngest child in the instructional group.*

Amanda, 4.9, who was fearful, cried, sucked her thumb, roamed and withdrew in her classroom, could communicate effectively from the start of the project. Work with Amanda consisted of a series of devices for need gratification and need channeling through conceptual activities. She represented a "natural" for any brand of therapeutic tutoring (her I.Q. increased 11 points). It would seem that "individual instruction" here served to strengthen a pre-existing coping device in which language was used as an important tool for communication and for problem solving.

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*Paulette was one of two children who had attended school only three months prior to the individual instruction project.

Summary and Recommendation

A 12-week program of Individual Instruction in Abstract Concepts at the Early Childhood Center was carried out by two student teachers and evaluated by means of comparing pre and post Stanford-Binet Test results. While the I.Q. scores in the instructional group showed a mean gain of 4.7, slightly higher gains occurred in the control group that had not received special instruction. This suggests that the total school program at E.C.C. has an accelerating effect on the intellectual development of the children, but that the addition of Individual Instruction, as practiced in Project 1, did not increase I.Q. scores. The possible meaning of these results are discussed, and some suggestions made concerning selection of children, counterindications, and patterns of individual teaching assignments.

While individual instruction in abstract concepts with young children may not always lead to quick I.Q. gains, it does seem an enterprise worthy of further exploration. Among its merits and potential uses are the following:

1. A curriculum and methodology for teaching abstract concepts can be developed with intentional feedback to the classroom.

2. As a tool for teacher training as well as for child learning. It can be of great value in teacher preparation for teaching young disadvantaged students.

3. "Individual Instruction" provides a close-up on various forms of child approach to and child resistance against cognitive change, if one can separate this from the child's attitudes to the teacher and method. Further, it creates an

urgency on the teacher's part to understand child behavior and to cope with it in terms of curriculum and method changes.

4. "Individual Instruction" can serve research interests as well, particularly by providing a unit for observing the effects of intervention techniques in teaching of abstract thinking.

Table 1

Stanford-Binet LM Test Retest Results

	Date	N	Age Range	Mean Age	Mean M.A.	I.Q. Range	Mean I.Q.	I.Q. Change
Instruction Group								
Pre-test	4-67	9	3-5 - 4-9	4-0	3-9	82-103	92.7	+4.7
Post-test	7-67	7*	3-8 - 4-11	4-3	4-3	85-109	97.4	
Control Group								
Pre-test	4-67	9	3-11 - 5-1	4-6	4-4	84-107	95.9	+5.9
Post-test	7-67	9	4-2 - 5-4	4-9	4-6	92-115	101.8	

*Two children persistently refused re-testing. (If these two children are removed from the pre-test group, the average initial I.Q. for remaining seven subjects is 93.5; the I.Q. change 3.9)

Table 2

Pre- and Post-Test Results
Stanford-Binet LM

Group	Subject	Age (Pre-test)	M.A. (Pre-test)	M.A. (Post-test)	I.Q. (Pre-test)	I.Q. (Post-test)	I.Q. Change
Instruct:	Paulette	3-5	2-10	3-11	82	105	+23
	Betty	3-6	3-4	no data*	94	no data*	no data*
	Marvin	3-10	3-8	3-10	94	93	-1
	Donald L.	3-11	3-3	3-8	82	85	+3
	Ruth	3-11	4-1	4-2	103	99	-4
	Ralph	4-1	4-3	4-2	103	95	-8
	Doris	4-2	3-7	no data*	85	no data*	no data*
	George	4-5	4-2	4-6	93	96	+3
	Amanda	4-9	4-8	5-4	98	109	+11
Control:	Lily	3-11	4-2	4-10	105	115	+10
	Ken	3-11	4-0	4-5	100	107	+7
	Lila	4-3	4-6	4-9	107	107	0
	Donald R.	4-4	4-2	4-3	95	94	-1
	Florence	4-6	3-11	4-4	86	92	+6
	Albert	4-7	3-11	5-2	84	107	+23
	Andy	4-10	4-9	5-5	98	107	+9
	Kippy	4-11	4-6	4-11	90	94	+4
	Carl	5-1	5-0	5-3	98	98	0

*Child rejected post-test.

APPENDIX

"Concepts"

Quantity: a) relationships -- big and little
bigger and littler
tall and short
taller and shorter
more and less
small, middle-sized, big (3 bears)

b) numbers -- up to 5
(finger games, number rhymes, counting objects)

Direction: up-down
over-under
on-top -- underneath
at the top-on the bottom

left-right (too hard for children under 5?)

a) use locations and furniture for concepts

b) use sheet of paper for top and bottom and middle

Sequence: first comes, then (or next)
first-last
before-after

sequence of the day
sequence of events (causal relationships)

Reference to objects, acts and events in their absence:

begin with objects (finding-game)

Events: weather and its effect on people (clothing, shelter needs, activities)
birthday -- birth of the child (related to season -- to birth of siblings?)
school, after school, school vacation
sickness
holidays

Times of the Day: what happens at lunch time
at going home time
on the roof, etc.

(avoid talk about events
you cannot verify)

APPENDIX (cont'd)

Similarities (differences):

alike -- you have shoes, the doll has shoes
different -- your shoes are bigger than the doll's
(may be too young to understand difference)

Similarities (and differences, if useable) on direct experience level. Do not use abstractions such as "fruit," "furniture" unless child experiences the sorting into categories (see below).

Sorting, Categorizing:

Arrange miniature objects in families or as "things that go together" (e.g., box of miniature furniture, foods, people, animals).

Shapes: Use puzzles ("Fit a Shape") to discuss words that describe shapes (round, straight, lines, corners, box shape, circle, cross, etc.)